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(Works Vol 3 page 187. ed 1798. I find [illegible]
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THE

TRAVELS

AND

ADVENTURES

OF

EDWARD BROWN, *Esq;*

Formerly a MERCHANT in *London.*

CONTAINING

His OBSERVATIONS on *France* and *Italy*; his Voyage to the *Levant*; his Account of the *Isle* of *Malta*; his REMARKS in his Journies thro' the lower and upper *Egypt*; together with a brief DESCRIPTION of the *Abyssinian* Empire.

Interspersed throughout

With several curious Historical PASSAGES relating to our own as well as Foreign Nations; as also with Critical Disquisitions as to the present State of the Sciences in *Egypt*, particularly Physic and Chemistry.

LONDON: Printed by J. APPLEBEE,

For A. BETTESWORTH, and C. HITCH, at the *Red-Lyon* in *Pater-noster-Row*; WILLIAM HINCHLIFFE, at *Dryden's-Head*, under the *Piazza* of the *Royal-Exchange*; and STEPHEN AUSTEN, at the *Angel* and *Bible* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*. MDCCXXXIX.

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THE

PREFACE.

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I is neither out of a Desire to prepossess the Reader in Favour of the following Sheets, nor yet meerly to comply with a Ceremony which Custom hath long confirm'd, a Point of good Breeding between an Author and his Readers, that I prefix a Preface to these Travels. Two Reasons determined me thereto, First, that the candid Peruser might receive all the Satisfaction in my Power, as to the Gentleman who wrote this Book; and Secondly, that I might clear myself from any

Charge of Impertinence or want of Circumſpection, in giving to the World the private Papers of a Perſon long ſince deceaſed, who as he choſe to live unknown, might well be ſuppoſed to have wiſhed after Death, that he might be forgotten.

THE firſt Scenes of this Gentleman's Life are ſo accurately deſcribed by his own Pen, that it would be not only needleſs, but impertinent in me to ſay any Thing of them here. After his Return to England *he ſettled as a Merchant, not ſo much with a View to Profit, as to keep his Thoughts employ'd, being equally an Enemy to, and incapable of bearing Idleneſs. His great Abilities and his Experience, drawn both from Reading and Travel, gained him not only the Acquaintance, but an Intimacy with ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, which he the more eaſily maintained, becauſe his own Circumſtances were eaſy, and ſo he had no Occaſion, as in himſelf he had no Will to trouble them for Favours. Beſides theſe Friends at Home, our Author kept up a conſtant and general Correſpondence with Perſons of Learning, as well as Buſineſs abroad, of which he preſerved an exact Journal, and cauſed all their Letters to be fair copied. This Manner of employing his Time the Reader will perceive he took up early, and he continued it (as I believe moſt Men do whatever*

pleaſes

pleaſes them in their Youth) the beſt Part of his Life. His Writings were therefore always held valuable by his Relations, to whom I am indebted for the Acceſs I have had to them, and would willingly make them more ample Acknowledgments, if I were not reſtrained by their expreſs Commands. The Leave they have given me to tranſcribe his Memoirs, being founded only in a generous Deſire of rendering Service to the Publick, and not out of any Vanity whatſoever.

WHEN Mr. Brown *grew pretty far in Years, he retired into the Country for his Health, and lived ſome where in the Vicinity of* Buxton-Wells, *whence many of his laſt Letters are dated, and where it appears that he reviewed all his Papers. He came afterwards up to* London *on ſome particular Buſineſs, and being ſurprized by a Pleuretick Fever, died in the Winter of* 1704. *He left a conſiderable Sum of Money behind him to ſome diſtant Relations of his own, and his Wife's, having had no Children. He was always eſteemed a Man of great Modeſty in his Diſpoſition, extremely moderate in his Sentiments, a Friend to Learning, without affecting to be learned, ſincerely pious, without any Tincture of Bigotry, and ſo little inclined to Party, that I am not able to learn to which Side he leaned; even in thoſe Times when*

when almoſt every Man ranged himſelf with the Whigs, *or with the* Tories.

AS to the Publication of theſe Travels, it will appear from the firſt Pages of them, that the Author had it not abſolutely in View to hinder their ſeeing the Light. On the contrary, he either had ſome Thoughts of publiſhing them himſelf, tho' perhaps in another Dreſs, or he had Foreſight enough to apprehend that they would one Day find a Reader, who would think it unjuſt to delight himſelf with the peruſal of them, without deſiring to communicate that Delight to his Countrymen. It is plain therefore, that in committing this Volume to the Preſs, I have not violated the Will of the Dead. As to the Merit of the Work itſelf, I apprehend it will ſpeak for itſelf. It is full of very entertaining Relations, curious Reſearches into Hiſtory, as well private as publick, and abounds with Diſcoveries in thoſe Places where they are leaſt expected. As to the Language it is very natural and intelligible, tho' altogether artleſs and unaffected. Mr. Brown *meant to draw the Pictures of himſelf and of other Men, as like as he could, and not with thoſe fine Strokes and agreeable Touches which delight us ſo much in* French *Memoirs, and in Courtly Panegyrics.*

THE

THE ſeveral Paſſages in this Book relating to Engliſh *Affairs, may not only be depended on as Facts, but with reſpect to their Circumſtances alſo, may be ſafely regarded as impartial Narrations, falling from the Pen of a Man altogether void of Party. The Author as he left his Country young, and without having addicted himſelf to any Faction, ſo from thoſe with whom he converſed abroad, it is very evident he acquired full Satisfaction, that the Bigots of all Parties were either Slaves to their Paſſions or their Intereſts; and therefore as Men viſibly miſled, were leaſt of all fit to lead others. Hence without Doubt it came to paſs, that he contracted that coolneſs and moderation which diſtinguiſhes all his Accounts of Things, from thoſe we have already had, and ſets them in ſuch a Light, as leaves the Reader no juſt Ground to doubt, that it is the true one.*

ALL the conciſe Memoirs of Perſons of Diſtinction which are inſerted in his Work, are penn'd with much Impartiality, and exhibit nothing to the Reader's View, but what tends to his Information and Inſtruction. They are not indeed very regular or conformable to thoſe Rules which of late Years have been eſtabliſhed in Biography, but they are pleaſant and natural; they come in pertinently, are told

told with Spirit, and are generally concluded with useful Reflections. This was a fashionable Method of writing in the last Age, and a Method which needs no Excuse to be made for it in this, wherein, if we have learned to compose with greater Accuracy and neatness, we have perhaps lost something of that masculine Vigour which is discernable in the Characters drawn by former Writers. While I dwell on this Subject, I cannot forbear observing, that the Account he has given us of the Italian *Duke of* Northumberland, *is alone sufficient to make the Book valuable. I remember that in the Year* 1718, *when it was said that an unfortunate* Italian Marquis *was lineally descended from that famous Duke who made such a Figure in the Courts of* Henry VIII. *and* Edward VI. *and from the no less famous Earl of* Leicester, *the first of Queen* Elizabeth's *Favourites; I say, I remember when this was talked of, it was looked on as a Fable, and many believ'd it a Story invented to do Honour to a certain Family. From this Author it appears not only that the Fact was true, but there are also a multitude of other Facts assembled, relating to the same Family, which I believe are not to be met with any where else. The collecting all these scatter'd Memoirs, was certainly an Act of virtuous Compassion, since the House of* Dudley *was*

then

then in no Condition to repay him, or any other Man for Civilities of this ſort; neither does it appear, that he compiled this Account with any other View than to ſatisfy his intimate Friends as to the State of this once illuſtrious Family, and to wipe away that Aſperſion which the ignorant had thrown on the unhappy, by intimating that theſe Dukes *were of their* own *making.*

THE Deſcriptions he has given us of France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, *&c. are ſuch as ſhew that the Genius and Diſpoſition of the People made as ſtrong an Impreſſion on him, as the natural or artificial Wonders of their reſpective Countries. He is equally an Admirer of Men and Things, examines both candidly, and wherever he can be ſuſpected of erring, it is on the right Side. He had it ſeems, a great Delight in collecting ſcattered Pieces of Hiſtory of all ſorts, and was as well pleaſed to contemplate the Steadineſs and ſolid Prudence of a* Dutch *Skipper, as the wonderful variety of Adventures which have happened to Princes, publick Miniſters or Favourites, of which however we find Inſtances in his Writings. I know it may be objected, that we have already many particular Accounts of* Egypt, *but this has ſo little to do with the preſent Affair, that I am poſitive if we did not know from their Titles that the Ac-*

counts

counts we already have, relate to the ſame Country of which Mr. Brown *ſpeaks, we ſhould ſcarce diſcern it from the Compariſon of their Contents, as I could eaſily ſhew, if it were not for anticipating the Reader's Pleaſure.*

THE intelligent Reader may poſſibly wonder, after turning over theſe Sheets, that he finds in them no particular Account of the Antiquities in the Upper Egypt, *which our Author had ſuch an Opportunity of deſcribing, and delivering his Opinion upon. To obviate this, I muſt inform him, that our Author wrote a diſtinct Treatiſe on this Subject, addreſſed to a Perſon of Diſtinction in* France, *and that after his Return into* Europe, *he illuſtrated it with very curious Notes, and many Quotations from the Ancients; and that he disjoined it from his Travels, becauſe its Length would too much have interrupted them, and on Account of its relating to a learned Subject, and was therefore intended to be made a Part of a Volume of Miſcellanies, which he had actually made ready for the Preſs. So much of this Subject however as was neceſſary to explain the ſeveral Topics on which he treats in this Book, is interſperſed in proper Places; for tho' he made it his Practice to write diſtinct Treatiſes on important Heads, yet he very ſeldom refers hither and thither,*

being

being ſuch a Friend to Method, that he never thought any Time loſt which was employ'd in making a Thing perſpicuous. I have Reaſon to believe, that beſides what will be found in this Book relating to the Art of Medicine as practiſed by the Egyptians, *he wrote alſo a more large and diſtinct Treatiſe of Chyrurgical Operations, which in all Probability is loſt; but there is ſtill remaining among his Papers a ſort of* Egyptian *Diſpenſatory, whether written by himſelf, or tranſcribed from the Works of any Author, I am not Judge enough of the Matter to determine. More I could ſay as to other Things of a like Nature, but as they have no very ſtrict Connection with the Points I propoſe to explain in this Preface, I ſhall not ſwell it by expatiating on them here.*

SUCH Pieces of Natural Hiſtory as are here and there interſperſed in this Work, as they come in pertinently, ſo they are penn'd with great Circumſpection, our Author always affecting the middle Track, and being alike afraid of deviating into Credulity on the one hand, or into a ſupercilious Infidelity on the other. It does not appear that he has relied much on Authority in what he delivers of this ſort, and that whenever he does do ſo, he gives fair Warning to the Reader to prevent the placing of other Men's Miſtakes to his Account. A neceſſary Precaution

this,

this, ſince not only unlearned Travellers, but even Men of deep Reading, and tolerable Underſtanding, have erred groſly in this Particular, the former thinking they had travelled to no Purpoſe, if thereby they had not acquired a Licence to relate all they heard, as confidently as all they ſaw; the latter ſo intoxicated with the Love of the Antients, that to ſupport a Paſſage in Herodotus, *to juſtify a Fact related by* Diodorus, *or to make good ſomewhat in* Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, *take a great deal of unneceſſary Pains, and not only give a wrong Biaſs to their Thoughts, but which is ſtill more extraordinary to their Eye Sight; ſo ſtrongly are they poſſeſſed with a Deſire of beholding Things not as they are, but as they were in the Times of thoſe ancient Writers, or rather as they were repreſented to them, and on that Account by them to their Readers. But tho' our Author had read, and very much eſteemed the Ancients, yet he did not idolize them, for which he certainly deſerves Commendation. I might ſay ſomewhat in Favour of that Accuracy and Perſpicuity with which all his Accounts of Natural Things are written; but that I think would be prejudging the Reader, and might poſſibly prejudice the Author, rather than do him good; I ſhall therefore paſs this by, and proceed to another remarkable Head.*

THE

THE Paſſages relating to Chemiſtry, or rather to Alchimy in the following Book, deſerve particular Notice. It was the darling Folly of the laſt Age, and of many Ages preceding it, there was ſcarce a Monaſtery in England *which had not its Chemiſt; and in* Germany *the Humour was ſtill ſtronger, inſomuch that there were not only many Pretenders to the Philoſopher's Stone, I mean Men who pretended to have the Poſſeſſion of it, but they alſo deviſed ſo many Methods for ſecuring their own Reputation, that there are very Numbers, and thoſe not unintelligent People, who ſtill believe that the grand Secret was known to and practiſed by ſeveral of theſe* German Monks. *Every Body knows, that this Enthuſiaſtic Notion prevailed ſo ſtrongly here, that it was found neceſſary to make a Law to prevent ſuch pernicious Practices as Men were found to run into under Pretence of the Multiplication of Gold. In* France, Spain, *and* Italy, *the ſame Notions turned the Heads of many, and that they were not confined within the Bounds of* Europe, *the Reader will find abundant Proofs in the following Sheets. As to our Author himſelf, he appears in this Work to have been quite an Infidel with Reſpect to the Doctrine of Tranſmutation; for though on Account of certain Reaſons which he mentions,*

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he delivers his Sentiments cautiously, and in ſoft Terms, yet nothing can be more apparent, than that he look'd upon all the pompous Pretences of the Alchymiſt, either as unmeaning Rapſodies, or down right Deluſions. This he did not from any Prejudice, but from the Knowledge he had had both of the Theory and Practice of this Art, in Favour of which he has inſerted a ſhort Account of the Reaſons why Tranſmutation may be accounted probable, which as ſome intelligent Perſons have informed me is an excellent Piece. His want of Belief therefore proceeded from Defect in the Evidence, and from nothing elſe; and conſequently though the Friends of this Science may believe him in the wrong, yet they muſt impute the Error not to his Will, but to his Judgment.

ABOUT the Year 1692, *he wrote a pretty large Treatiſe expreſly on this Subject, at the Requeſt as it ſhould ſeem, of ſome Perſon of very great Diſtinction, who had his Head turned this Way, and who was mightily pleaſed with our Author's Converſation on the Subject. In this Treatiſe he does not ſeem to have alter'd his Opinion, or at leaſt very materially, for having firſt explained the Nature of Metals, and the Reaſons for and againſt Tranſmutation, he then proceeds to a moſt copious Hiſtory of all*

the

the Poſſeſſors and reputed Poſſeſſors of the Philoſopher's Stone in all Ages, and in all Parts of the World, including an Account of the Roſicrucians, *or illuminated Bretbren. He likewiſe mentions, where they occur, the Objections which had been made to the Credibility of any of theſe Hiſtories. This is the moſt finiſhed Piece which remains in my Power, and as far as I am able to judge, is not the original Treatiſe, but a fair Copy from it, there being no Amendments or Interlineations, whence it is poſſible there may be other Copies of it. Our Author concludes nothing therein, he contents himſelf with ſtating the Facts and Reaſons on both Sides, leaving the Judgment to the Perſon to whom the Treatiſe is addreſſed. It is however my private Sentiment, that by this Time he inclined to believe that Tranſmutation was poſſible and practicable, but that there was little hopes of being able to render it profitable. I confeſs I have gone a little out of my Road, but the Sight of ſo curious a Building may poſſibly excuſe me, and even oblige my Reader, eſpecially ſince I have not detained him long; but having juſt ſhewn him a Proſpect of the Edifice, returned again into the beaten Track.*

I have now diſcharged my Duty as an Editor, and if the following Piece is ſo happy as to meet with a

good

good Reception (as I doubt not it will) I ſhall conſider it as an Obligation laid upon me, to publiſh the Treatiſes which made up the reſt of the Volume I copied. At preſent they are Curioſities, and they will be always ſo, unleſs by this Means I ſhould gain an Opportunity of making them of general Uſe. But this depends upon the Publick, and to the Publick I therefore leave it.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF *Edward Brown*, &c.

WHEN Men write the Hiſtory of their own Lives, Vanity, whatever Colour may be pretended, is generally at the Bottom the real Motive. The Tenderneſs we have for our ſelves, unſatisfied with extending as far as the Grave, often preſſes thoſe who have the Capacity of Writing, to transfer it alſo to their Memory; and like *Horace*, to erect Monuments to themſelves beyond the reach of Rage or Time. Perhaps I may my ſelf be governed by that fooliſh Self-fondneſs in what I am now writing, or at leaſt it may paſs for ſuch, amongſt critical Judges, if theſe Sheets ſhould ever tranſgreſs the boundaries of a Cloſet, and thruſt themſelves amongſt the numerous Lives, Hiſtories and Travels, which are daily ſent from the Preſs, into the World.

But if I am in any Degree acquainted with the Secrets of my own Breaſt, this Work is compoſed from very different Inducements. The Heart of Man, is hardly open to himſelf, and perhaps moſt People will find it as hard to account for the true Motives of their own Actions, as ſome Hiſtorians make it, to judge of thoſe of Princes. My Cuſtom throughout my Life has been, to preſerve in a *Diary*, not only my Actions, and the Occurences which have happened to me, but even the Thoughts and Reflections they occaſioned, at the Time when they befell me. Theſe Papers, which compoſed for the moſt Part the bulk of my Library, through all my Travels, are now ſwollen to a large Compaſs, and as I am happily arrived at laſt at that Haven of Reſt, which through ſo many Climates I have been purſuing, I judged it proper to put them in Order for my own Uſe; not I confeſs without ſome View to their advantaging Others, if the impartial and candid Picture I draw of human Nature be capable of doing Service. As it is, I ſhall leave it behind me, to periſh or to be preſerved, as the Order of Things ſhall happen, and without farther Preface, proceed to it's Materials.

On the 29th of *April*, 1641, the ſame Day the *Houſe* of *Lords* voted the *Earl* of *Strafford* guilty of *High-Treaſon*, I was born at a Village call'd *Cottenham*, in *Cambridgeſhire*. My Father was a Gentleman of about 300 Pounds *per Ann.* ſome of which lay in the *Iſle* of *Ely*, and the reſt in *Lincolnſhire*. As my Parents had no other Children but my ſelf, they were exceedingly careful of my Education, and eſpecially took care to inſtill in me while Young, the Principles of the *Chriſtian Religion*; but with Reſpect to particular Opinions, I was, by the Conſent of them

them both, left at greater Liberty, becauſe my Father was much in thoſe Sentiments, called the Puritanical, and my Mother on the Contrary, who was the Daughter of a *Knight*, whoſe Name was *Brown*, a great admirer of Archbiſhop *Laud*.

My Father being himſelf well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, as having been for ſome Years bred up in the Family of the Lord *Leapington*, kept me under his own Tuition, 'till I was between twelve and thirteen Years old, when he ſent me to *London* to Mr. *Wm. Taylor*, a Miniſter of great Learning, then much followed and admired. I came to Town the ſame Day that the famous *John Lilburn* was tried and acquitted: And though then a Boy, yet being never put out of the Room when my Tutor received Company, or left at Home when he went to make a Viſit, I obſerved a great many Things which made Impreſſions ſo ſtrong upon me, as were not for many Years after to be worn out. Being upwards of Seventeen at the Deceaſe of the Protector *Oliver*, with whom my Father had ſtood in high Favour, and under whom he had held Offices of conſiderable Profit, I took Notice of the great Concern he expreſſed thereat, being ſenſible alſo that it much haſtened his own yeilding to Fate, which was in the *October* following of a haſty Conſumption.

My Mother breathed her laſt about ſix Months before, and having no Relation of any Nearneſs left, except my Mother's Brother, who was a Trader of conſiderable Reputation at *Hull* in *Yorkſhire*. Things too taking a ſurprizing Revolution, and making me, through the Share my Father had had in certain publick Tranſactions, obnoxious to the Perſons then coming into Power, all

together concurred firſt to throwing me into a deep Melancholly, and next bringing me into a ſettled Reſolution of quitting my native Country, in hopes that Time and Travel might wear out moſt of thoſe Grievances which then oppreſſed me. My Tutor, Mr. *Taylor*, who ſurvived but a very little Space after, at firſt oppoſed my Deſign, but finding me fixed, gave me, in Writing, a moſt excellent ſet of Inſtructions for the Regulation of my future Conduct.

THIS Determination of mine to quit *England*, was about the latter End of the Year 1660; but Things being then in ſo much Confuſion, that a Licence was neceſſary for every Perſon who would go out of the Kingdom, and there being ſome Difficulty for me to obtain one, I retir'd, 'till the Intereſt of my Friends could procure it, to a Gentleman's Houſe near *Spalding*, in *Lincolnſhire*, to which I was recommended by my good Friend and Tutor Mr. *Taylor*.

THE Gentleman himſelf was a Man of the moſt agreeable Diſpoſition, had all the Experience of a Life of threeſcore Years, without the leaſt Taint of thoſe troubleſome Humours which generally attend old Age. His Family conſiſted of two Daughters, who lived at Home with him; his only Son, after having been under the Tuition of Mr. *Taylor*, ſtudying then at the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, in *Scotland*, whither his Father had ſent him to preſerve the Purity of his Morals. When I firſt came down to his Seat, I promiſed myſelf much Satisfaction, as well from the Temper of the old Man himſelf, as from the modeſt and ſweet Behaviour of the Daughters. But as all Things here are uncertain, and nothing more ſo than the Conjectures of human Underſtanding, ſo

the

the Accidents which befell me here, added, to the general Diſguſt I had taken, a particular Source of Uneaſineſs which neceſſarily required the Cure of Abſence.

THE Seat wherein we dwelt, was one of the old-faſhioned Structures, which appeared to be built without any other Rule, than the Inclination of its Founder. It had abundance of good Rooms, large Cloſets, ſeveral Galleries, and three or four different Gardens round it, as irregularly laid out as the Houſe was built. In it's Front there was a *Rookery*, and another very large one behind it beyond the Gardens, near which were ſeveral Fiſh-Ponds, and on one Side of them a Warren, and on the other a thick Grove. All together it was confuſed, and yet agreeable; its Apartments not magnificent, but convenient; and the rural Ornaments about it, though rude in their Diſpoſition, did not want their Beauties.

THE melancholy Temper which at that Time I was in, and to which I have always had a natural Tendency, inclined me perhaps to like this Place better than I ſhould have done the neateſt and moſt regular Building. There was about half a quarter of a Mile from the Houſe, a long, ſtrait, walk of Trees, which terminated at the Church-yard; hither I uſed frequently to reſort, and either divert myſelf with ſome Book or other, or elſe entertained my Thoughts in the undiſturbed Solitude of that Retirement. About three Weeks after my coming into the Country, when that civil ſtrangeneſs which is paid to a New-Comer was pretty well worn off, and the Family treated me with almoſt the ſame Intimacy they did each other, I began to perceive that Mrs. *Lucy*, the old Gentleman's younger Daughter, behaved towards me with a peculiar Air. Abundance of Circumſtances forced

me to take Notice of it, as well as confirmed me in my Conjecture, and a ſhort interval of Time very fully revealed it.

AFTER Dinner one Day, while the old Gentleman went to his Nap, I had taken in my Pocket, *Barclay's Euphormion*, and ſtroled down the ſolitary Walk before mention'd. As I was amuſing myſelf there with the Author I ſpoke of, I perceived the young Lady ſitting on a little Bench, which was under three old ſpreading Trees, on a riſing Ground, about a Stone's caſt from the Path in which I was. Immediately, and almoſt without knowing what I did, I went up to her, and with an Air of Freedom, which I very rarely aſſumed, took out of her Hand a Book which ſhe was reading: She parted with it very readily, though ſhe would never receive it afterwards, and it proved to be the Poems of *Michael Drayton*, in which ſhe was reading the Letter of King *John* to *Matilda*. This Interview, notwithſtanding its ſuddenneſs, ſeemed not to have occaſioned much ſurprize on either Side; the Lady managed her Share of Converſation ſo agreeably, that though my Boſom neither before nor ſince for any other Woman, ever felt any Emotions of an amorous Kind, yet I retired, after walking with her about two Hours, with a Heart full of Love.

THE *elder* Siſter whoſe Name was *Martha*, and who was about 22 Years of Age, was a young Woman of an open, merry and generous Diſpoſition, one who was always doing ſomething which might delight or do good to others. This Siſter *Lucy*, who was about *four* Years younger, ſeemed to be of a more reſerved Temper, ſhe ſpoke very little, but when ſhe did, it was with a Sweetneſs

Sweetneſs which I at leaſt never obſerved in any other Woman; ſhe affected to read much, was often in her Cloſet, and though her Behaviour in Company was always eaſy, yet ſomething in her Countenance plainly ſhewed ſhe was better pleaſed when alone.

THE old Gentleman, when I had been about *ſix Weeks* in his Houſe, informed me with great Joy, that his Son was ſafely arrived at *York*, and that the *Thurſday* following he expected him Home. He is (ſaid the good old Man) about three Years older than you, and as I ſee there is a great Likeneſs in your Tempers, I promiſe myſelf much ſatisfaction from that Friendſhip which I ſhall recommend to you both. As you think it will be improper to make much ſtir about your Licence 'till the beginning of the Spring, I hope we ſhall all be Happy together 'till that Time. I am deſirous that my Son *Philip* ſhould alſo ſee the World; and if it be convenient to you, would have him be the Companion of your Travels. I expreſſed the greateſt reſpect and ſatisfaction at what the old Gentleman had been pleaſed to ſay, and aſſured him that nothing could give me greater Pleaſure, than the being able to do any Thing which might be acceptable to him or his Family.

THINGS ſtood thus when the young Gentleman arrived, he appeared to have made the beſt uſe of his Time and of his Studies, having acquired all the Advantages that could be drawn from an *Academical Education*, without receiving from it the leaſt Stain of Pedantry, or ſeeming to have leaned in any Degree to the other extream in order to avoid it. His own Virtues were ſufficient to have recommended him to my Eſteem and Friendſhip, had he not had an additional Title of being Son to a

Father, to whom I ſtood ſo much obliged. *Lucia's* Amour and mine was now ſo far advanced, that I was in ſome doubt, whether to propoſe a Marriage between Us, before, or after my return with her Brother from our Travels. For Love had ſo far altered my Intentions, that I, who before had reſolved never to return Home after I had once left the *Engliſh* Shore, now with reluctance ſuffered the very Thought of my Departure to enter my Mind.

DURING this Space, I received by a ſpecial Meſſenger an Account from *London*, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, inſtead of yeilding to my Friends requeſt for a *Licence* for me to depart the Kingdom, had declared that the Government ſtood in great need of certain Papers which were in the Hands of my Father at the Time of his Deceaſe, and for which he was reſolved to queſtion me, where ever I could be found. This News augmented that embarraſment which from a Multitude of concurring unlucky Circumſtances I was at that Time in; and of all, none perplexed me ſo much as this Affair of Love.

LUCIA, I obſerved from the Time of her Brother's return, was exceedingly careful of ſpeaking to me in his Preſence. I ſaw her however almoſt every Night when the Moon ſhone, at our Walk by the *Church-Yard*, and when the Nights were dark ſometimes in the Hall, near to which there were back Stairs that came both from her's and alſo my Apartment. The Lady did not indeed preſs me directly upon the Score of Matrimony, but I fancied at leaſt that I ſaw in her a ſecret uneaſineſs which I judged muſt ariſe from that Cauſe. My Principles ſufficiently reſtrained me from attempting any Thing beyond the Bounds of Decency and Honour; and the

Lady's

Lady's Behaviour was always ſuch as gave me not the leaſt Suſpicion of their not having been treated with a juſt Indignation if I had. However, there had ſo much paſſed between us, that I could not myſelf but think it reaſonable, that ſome way or other ſhould be propoſed to put an End to this Affair; and the Conſideration of this way almoſt continually took up my Thoughts; for on the one Hand, I could not bear to part entirely from *Lucia*, and on the other Hand, Matrimony was a Thing very inconvenient for me at this Time.

My Intimacy with her Brother encreaſing daily, and the likeneſs of our Manners ſeeming to have created a very ſtrong Affection, I reſolved to make him my Confident in this Affair, in which my Paſſion had engaged me againſt the dictates of my Reaſon. I propoſed to myſelf both to ask him his ſincere Advice as a Friend, and at the ſame Time to engage his Intereſt as a Brother in ſpeaking to his Father. Accordingly one Morning as he came into my Chamber while I was reading, I begged him to ſit down and permit me to inform him of an Affair in which he himſelf was concerned, and on which my Quiet very ſtrongly depended. The young Gentleman ſeemed very much ſurprized, and replied that there could be nothing which affected my Peace in which he was not Intereſted, begging me to go on, and depend on this, that nothing I could ask of him ſhould be omitted.

When in as few Words as I was able, I had acquainted him with the Sources of my Uneaſineſs, I perceived the Story affected him with almoſt as much Concern as it did me; I imputed it wholly to the ſincerity of his Friendſhip, and expected with Impatience what Expedient he would propoſe. As ſoon as he had recovered himſelf

himſelf from that Surprize into which the Story that I had told him had put him; my Friend (ſaid the young Man at laſt) there could not poſſibly have happened a Thing in which I would more ſtudiouſly have avoided giving my Advice, than where a Perſon, for whom I have ſo deep an Affection as for you, ſhould have indulged himſelf in an amorous Inclination; I know very well, though I cannot ſay by Experience, how little regard is had to Reaſon, by him who hath once ſuffered his Breaſt to be taken up by that enſnaring Paſſion; but when to theſe Difficulties there is added, the near Relation I have to the Lady with whom you are in Love, I ſee myſelf ſurrounded with ſo many difficulties, that nothing but the tender Friendſhip I have for you, ſhould engage me to ſpeak a Syllable more on this Head. As it therefore ſo nearly concerns you, I will comply entirely with your Requeſt, and without any Regard to Family, or that Affection we naturally have for ſo near Relations, give you my ſincere Sentiments on the Subject as you have propoſed it.

I thanked him for ſo extraordinary a Proof of his Eſteem, and begged he would go on: He heſitated a little, and then ſaid, I am perſuaded (my Friend) you will not inſiſt on my deſcending to particulars, when out of regard to your Peace, I tell you that you would do well to baniſh from this Hour all Thoughts of my Siſter. I know her, Sir, and her Diſpoſition, it would make you uneaſy in Marriage. I am convinced you have more good Senſe than to ask me more Queſtions, and I expect it from our Friendſhip that you ask them no where elſe. As ſoon as he had ſaid this, he went out of the Room, and left me more diſquieted and more confounded than

ſince

ſince that Time I ever was from all the Accidents that have befallen me in Life. That Evening being to meet *Lucia* in the Church-yard Walk, I had a thouſand Thoughts crouded into my Head, which occaſioned as many different Reſolutions of going, and not going, as Love or Reaſon, or rather Suſpicion prevailed.

At laſt, when the Hour of Appointment drew nigh, I went without determining with myſelf whether or no I ſhould mention to her any Thing that had paſſed between me and her Brother. I walked to and fro a long Time, ſo much taken up with the hurry of my Cogitations, that the Moon declined almoſt before I perceived it, and being diſappointed in my deſigned Interview, I had much ado to blunder Home in the Dark. As ſoon as I entered my Chamber, looking on my Watch, I found it was Four o'Clock in the Morning, I did not go to Bed but paſſed the Remainder of the Time 'till the Family were up, in a Multitude of uneaſy Reflections.

The next Day at Dinner, *Lucia* was miſſing, upon which I could not forbear asking her Father whether ſhe was gone; the old Gentleman ſaid, he had a younger Siſter dangerouſly ill at *London*, and that he thought it proper that her Neice ſhould be near her in caſe of Death. I looked very ſteadily on her Brother, when his Father was making me this Anſwer, and obſerved that he heard the Diſcourſe with a great deal of Pain. After Dinner we walked a good while in the Garden, where the young Gentleman repeated the ſame Story his Father had told me, but without taking the leaſt Notice of that uneaſineſs, which he might naturally ſuppoſe her abrupt Departure might give me. As ſoon as conveniently I could, I diſengaged myſelf from his Converſation, and

retiring

retiring to my own Chamber, began to think more cooly of what had hitherto paſſed.

My Temper which at that Time was very unpractiſed in bearing Uneaſineſs, made me incapable of hiding it; to prevent therefore any Notice being taken of my Diſorder, I declined going down to Supper, under pretence of my having a Fit of the Gravel: I pretended to be worſe toward Night, that I might not be plagued with Company; and indeed it ſucceeded ſo well, that I had all the Evening to myſelf, which I ſpent in very ſerious Conſultation. The Reſult of which was, that in order to make myſelf eaſy, I would quit the Houſe. About ſix the next Morning, I ordered my Servant to get the Horſes ready, and ſet out for my Uncle's Houſe at *Hull*; leaving a Letter with the old Gentleman's Groom for his Maſter, in which I informed him, that my Affairs had taken a very ill turn at *London*, and that I found it neceſſary to retire farther *North*, in order the better to conceal myſelf. I knew very well that *Lucia* was ſent away on my Account, and as they had not thought fit to acquaint me with the Reaſons of her Journey, I did not think myſelf obliged to be very particular, as to the Motives of mine.

I travelled with great Speed, 'till I arrived at my Uncle's Houſe, where without ſuffering the late Accident which had happened to me, to make too great Impreſſion upon my Mind, I began to ſettle my Affairs in earneſt for my Journey, in which the Aſſiſtance of my Uncle forwarded me a great deal. I ſoon converted my Eſtate, which my Father before his Death had diſpoſed of to this Uncle in truſt for me into ready Money, which with what my Father had left me in Caſh, amounted to about

about ſeven thouſand Pounds, beſides ſome Jewels of conſiderable Value, which I always reſerved, and carried privately about me.

THE only Thing that remained was, to conſult my Uncle as to the Method I ſhould take, of getting out of the Kingdom ſafely, and the Route I was to follow after my landing in *France*, thorough which Kingdom it was agreed I ſhould Travel. My Uncle adviſed me to aſſume my Mother's Name of *Brown*, and having bought an old Chariot privately, we had it with like ſecrecy painted in a ſpare Warehouſe, and my Mother's Arms blazoned thereon. This effectually anſwered our Deſign, for the Officers at the Port took the Chariot to belong to ſome of the *Mountacute* Family, and ſuffered me to go on board the Veſſel I had hired to tranſport me, with hardly a Queſtion asked or examining any Part of my Baggage. I carried over with me a Servant whoſe Name was *Johnſon*, and another Perſon very skillful in the *French* Language and the Manners of that Nation, all whoſe Expences I had agreed to furniſh to *Paris*, whether he was going to ſome Relations.

THIS Perſon I mentioned laſt, I found to be a Man very well verſed, not only in the *French*, but in the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Tongues, having paſſed almoſt *ten* Years, as he told me, in travelling through moſt Parts of *Europe*. I had the Curioſity, both to inform myſelf, and to divert the Paſſage, to enquire ſomewhat more particularly into his Adventures than otherwiſe I ſhould have done. The Man who had already been very much obliged to me, and who was to depend on me at leaſt as far as *Paris*, made no great Scruple of talking very freely of the Reaſons which engaged him to paſs through ſo many Places here-

tofore,

tofore, and which had now driven him, though much unprovided, upon travelling again.

He ſaid that his Father being a Tenant under the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, he himſelf, while a Boy, was taken into the Service of that noble Lord, that he was in his Family when he became General in the *North* for the King againſt the *Parliament* Forces, that he ſerved him and under him his Majeſty with the utmoſt Fidelity, 'till every Thing was loſt, and the Royal Party quite vanquiſhed, when he was under a Neceſſity of ſubmitting on the beſt Terms he could to thoſe then in Power. Having been raiſed to a Lieutenant of Horſe, under the aforementioned Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, and having been much entruſted in Expreſſes, and private Meſſages to and from the King at *Oxford*, and on his Affairs alſo in *France* and *Holland*; one of his Relations mentioned him to *Thurloe*, the Protectors Secretary, as a Man who might be of Uſe, if he could be brought over.

He was then at *London*, and his Friend having obtained Leave, ſpoke to him of the Affair. At firſt, his old Principles of Loyalty made him abſolutely refuſe having any Thing to do with the Secretary or his Maſter; but after ſome Time, his Friend's perſuaſions, and much more his own Neceſſities, forced him to think better of it, and to conſent to making a Viſit to *Thurloe*, in order to hear his Propoſitions. His Friend was very well pleaſed at this, knowing that nothing could be more acceptable to *Oliver*, than the gaining ſuch Perſons to his Party. He ſignified it therefore immediately to the Secretary, and begged he might have a Day appointed him to bring his Friend.

THURLOE

THURLOE ordered that he ſhould come the next Evening, when having converſed with the *Lieutenant* about an Hour, he deſired him to retire into an Anti-Chamber, and in about half an Hour after, the Secretary returned and introduced him to the *Protector*, who ſat in a little Room behind that in which they had been firſt entertained, where he could hear every Word that paſſed. The Man, who appeared to me upon other Occaſions to have wanted no Courage, acknowledged that he had never in his Life felt ſo great an Emotion of his Spirits, as at this Interview. The *Protector* perceived it, and bid him ſit down and compoſe himſelf, that he might be aſſured Nothing ſhould hurt him as to what had paſſed, and that he had ſomething to propoſe to him, which might make him very eaſy for the future. The *Lieutenant* at this began to take Heart, and when he had recollected himſelf a little, after thanking his Highneſs for that Favour, aſſured him that he would ſerve him as faithfully in whatſoever he entruſted him, as ever he had done his Royal Maſter. *Oliver* ſmiled at that Expreſſion, and ſaid, he knew his Principles too well to put him upon any Thing that had any Relation to the Affairs of *Charles Steward*. For (added *Cromwell*) I have ſmall Regard for any new Servant who would recommend himſelf to me, by betraying the Secrets of him whom he had pretended to ſerve from a Principle of Religion and Duty. I will pay you very well, for what ever I employ you in, and expect nothing more from you than Secrecy and Reſolution. I am going to Council upon a Matter which will keep me late, but *Thurloe* will acquaint you with what I expect of you.

AFTER the *Protector* was gone, the Secretary paid him *one hundred* Pounds before he ſpoke a Word to him of the Buſineſs, and then giving him two Letters of Credit, each to the Extent of *five hundred* Pounds, one on a *Swiſs* Banker at *Paris*, and the other on a *Merchant* at *Marſeilles*; he then gave him his Inſtructions in very few Words, which were, that he ſhould travel from *Calais*, through the Heart of *France* to *Marſeilles*, according to a Route which ſhould be delivered unto him by the Banker on whom he had his Credit at *Paris*. He was commanded to obſerve very diligently the State of that Kingdom in every Reſpect, which he was ordered to put into Writing, and to digeſt in the beſt Method he could; it was more particularly recommended to him to have a ſtrict Eye to the Condition of the *Huguenots* in that Kingdom; to diſcover as well as he was able, the general Characters of the Perſons then of greateſt Rank in *France*; and he was finally enjoined to pay a ſtrict Obedience to whatever Order he received, ſealed with a particular Seal which was ſhewn him, and a fair Impreſſion thereof in Wax, put up in a little Caſe like a Medal delivered to him.

THUS furniſhed, he ſet out in conſequence of the Orders he had received, and performed his Commiſſion with ſo great Exactneſs, that at *Marſeilles* he received new Letters of Credit, and freſh Commands to paſs with the utmoſt privacy through *Spain*. When he had ſo done, to embark for *Leghorn*, and after viſiting ſuch and ſuch States of *Italy*, to return by the Way of *Swizerland*, *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, into the *united Provinces*, and ſo Home. He performed this Journey ſo as to return into *England* the very Year that *Oliver* died, and about two Months

Months after it. By this he loſt that Reward he might reaſonably have expected, for the great Services he performed and Intelligence he gave; ſome Inſtances of which, I ſhall have Occaſion hereafter to mention.

THIS Diſapointment was the Cauſe of his falling into low Circumſtances, and at the ſtrange Change in the Year 1660, great Endeavours being uſed to take him, on a falſe Accuſation of his having been a Spy on the Court of King *Charles* the *Second*, in his Exile, he privately fled into *Yorkſhire*, and lived there in a very low State, 'till he happened to be recommended by a near Relation of his to my Uncle, who ſent him with me in order to his getting to *Paris*, where he had an Uncle in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, by whoſe Intereſt he was in hopes of getting ſomething, which might gain him Bread.

FINDING by this Relation, that Mr. *Fetherſtone* was in much the ſame Condition with myſelf, I adviſed with him as to the propereſt Place for my landing in *France*; we agreed at laſt that it ſhould be at *Diepe*, and I gave the Maſter Inſtructions accordingly, who promiſed to comply with them, and to recommend us at our Arrival in Port, to a Perſon of his Acquaintance, at whoſe Houſe we might be well accomodated ſo long as we ſhould incline to ſtay there. This was very acceptable to a young Traveller, whoſe Apprehenſions had driven him from Home, and who had as yet ſettled no Reſolution as to his Conduct abroad. In ſeven Days we arrived at *Diepe*, and were carried by the Maſter to the Houſe of one Mr. *Villeneufe*, who had been formerly Maſter of a Veſſel, trading to *England*; but growing in Years, and having acquired a ſufficiency, choſe to paſs the remnant of his

Life in quiet. He was a little Man, well made, and though near *threeſcore*, very lively and full of Spirit. He received us very kindly, and treated us with as much familiarity, as if he had been as long acquainted with us as the Maſter of the Veſſel, who recommended us. The latter who was to remain at *Diepe*, 'till he could take in a Freight on my Relation's Account, lodged with Mr. *Fetherſtone* and myſelf, at this Gentleman's Houſe, which was of great Service to me. The very Day after my arrival, I took care to be provided with a *French* Maſter, who proved a very ſenſible Man, and taught me to diſtinguiſh between the true *French*, and the *Dialect* of *Normandy*, as well in regard to the turn of Expreſſion, as to the Words and Pronounciation peculiar to the Inhabitants of this Province.

I ſoon found that Mr. *Fetherſtone*, though he often talk'd of it, was in no great hurry to go to *Paris*, and I readily gueſſed the Reaſon, which was his fear of not meeting there with a ſupply of Money. When I had conſidered this Matter attentively, I began to look upon it as a very great good Fortune to myſelf; never were *two* Travellers better ſuited, he had Years, Experience, and Integrity: I had juſt Senſe enough to diſcover my own Wants, and to know that as Things ſtood, I ſhould be more benefited by his Inſtructions, than he could be by any Services I could do him. The former were Treaſures whence I drew great Advantages during my whole Life, the latter temporary Things no way anſwerable to his Merit. The firſt Thing I did, was to remove all ſcruples between us, I informed him thoroughly of my Condition, and having received *fifty* Piſtoles on a Letter of Credit, I made him a Preſent of *Twenty*, intreat-

intreating him to give me his Advice freely, as to my Conduct, and the neceſſary means to make my Reſidence eaſy in *France*, 'till either Neceſſity or Choice induced me to remove.

He told me that he was well acquainted with a Gentleman at *Roan*, a Man of great Honour, and very extenſive Knowledge, one who had formerly made a great Figure in the World, but had for many Years lived in privacy, on account of his having incurr'd the diſpleaſure of *Cardinal Richelieu*. To this Gentleman he aſſured me, he would recommend me in the ſtrongeſt Terms, adding, that after a Reſidence of *five* or *ſix* Months under ſuch a Tutor, I ſhould have Knowledge enough of the *French* Language and Nation to regulate my future Behaviour without farther help. This Point once reſolved on, I addreſſed myſelf to the Proviſion of our Maſter's Freight, according to the Inſtructions given me by my Relation, and while this was doing, diverted myſelf very agreeably with Mr. *Villeneuf*, and the reſt of my Friends, not caring as yet to mix much with Strangers.

One of the firſt Diſcoveries I made was, that our *Protector* had rendered himſelf ſtrangely formidable in *France*; they believed in this Country, that he could draw together *forty* or *fifty* thouſand Men when he pleaſed; they thought him wiſe enough to foreſee all Things, and bold enough to undertake any Thing. This was chiefly owing to the great Deference paid him by the *Cardinal Mazarin*, of whom it was commonly ſaid, that he did not fear the *Devil* ſo much as *Oliver Cromwell*. As far as I could afterwards learn, he feared both of them enough, and ſuffered his fears to have a ſtrong influence on his Actions. It happened that as we were

converſing one Evening on the Subject of *Oliver*'s Power and Grandeur, Mr. *Villeneuſe* asked me if I knew what became of the young *Lady* who attempted to aſſaſſinate the *Protector*. I told him very freely that I had never heard of any ſuch Thing; but that living as I did, at a great Diſtance from *London*, it might for all that have happened, and therefore I deſired he would tell me what he had heard of it, which he readily did. The Sum of his Relation was this.

THE famous *Duke* of *Buckingham*, who was aſſaſſinated at *Portſmouth*, left behind him *two* Sons. *George*, who ſucceeded him in his Honour, and the Lord *Francis Villiers*, who was kill'd at *St. Neots* in *Huntingtonſhire*, by *Cromwell* himſelf. This young Nobleman was paſſionately fond of Mrs. *Letitia Greenville*, who was as much in Love with him. From the Day of his Death, ſhe conceived in her Mind a ſtrong Reſolution to revenge it. In order to this, ſhe procured a Picture of General *Cromwell*, which ſhe ſet up in a Barn adjoining to her Father's Houſe, whether ſhe went frequently to fire at it with a Piſtol, 'till by Degrees ſhe had attained a Facility in hitting it, which ſhe judg'd ſufficient for her purpoſe. Coming then up to *London*, with her Father, Mother, and other Relations, ſhe for ſome Time watched an Opportunity to perpetrate the Murder ſhe had premeditated. At length, in the Year 1654, an Occaſion offered: The *Protector* was invited to Dinner in the *City*, and was to paſs in Pomp by the Houſe in which herſelf and the Family lodged. Mrs. *Greenville* dreſs'd herſelf with all imaginable Care, a Thing ſhe had never done ſince the Death of her Lover, and having placed herſelf in the Balcony, fired at the *Protector* as he paſſed, and

lodged

lodged a brace of Balls in the Shoulder of his Son *Henry's* Horſe, who rode next him. This put a Stop to the Proceſſion; the *Ladies* in the Balcony threw themſelves on their Knees, while Mrs. *Greenville* extending the Piſtol, cried out, that it was ſhe who had fired it, and that ſhe was ſorry ſhe had not kill'd the *Tyrant*. The *Protector* deſired the Company to go on, ſaying the Woman was mad, leaving Colonel *Holmes* and a ſmall Party of the *Guards* to protect the Houſe, and to ſecure her Perſon. When the *Colonel* came to execute his Commiſſion, the Parents of the young Lady aſſured him ſhe had been melancholly for ſome Years, and that ſhe was certainly *out* of her *Senſes*; upon which the Colonel withdrew to carry this News to the *Protector*. When *Cromwell* was acquainted therewith, he ordered the Guard to be withdrawn; but the next Day ſent Orders to the Lady's Father to take Care to confine his Daughter, that ſhe might not attempt any Thing of the like Nature againſt another. After this, Mrs. *Greenville* was never heard of, and the Enemies of *Cromwell* ſay, he cauſed her to be *poiſoned*.

When Mr. *Fetherſtone* and I were alone, I asked him if he had ever heard any Thing of this Story before. He anſwered in the *Negative*, and aſſured me it was a pure Fiction. Lord *Francis Villiers* ſaid he, was kill'd the ſame Year the King was murder'd. He was a very handſome Gentleman, and very amorous. I have heard it ſaid, that when the Soldiers ſtripp'd him, they found a Lock of a Lady's Hair faſtened to a Ribban which hung upon his Breaſt under his Shirt. But this Lady's Name was Mrs. *Kirk*. Beſides, he was neither kill'd by *Cromwell*, nor at *St. Neots*. His Party was routed on *Banſtead*

Downs, by Sir *Michael Liveſay*, whoſe Soldiers killed *Lord Francis* becauſe he obſtinately refuſed Quarter. I was mightily ſurprized at this Tale, out of which our Landlord would never be perſuaded; but before I left *France*, I heard ſo many of the ſame Sort, that I began to doubt almoſt every Thing I heard. Hence I took a Reſolution never to be over Confident as to the Circumſtances of Facts happening out of the Sphere of my own Obſervation, which proved of great Uſe to me afterwards, by eradicating that Tenaciouſneſs almoſt inherent to Youth, and by opening the Door to all Inſtructions that were offered me.

When all Things were ready, and we expected every Day a fair Wind to carry the *Veſſel*, we came in, back to *England*, the *Maſter* fell Sick of a kind of malignant Fever, which detained him and us three Weeks at *Diepe* longer than we deſigned. During his Illneſs, he was attended by an *Iriſh* Phyſician, and a *Scotch* Miniſter. The former was of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, but a Man of good Senſe and great Moderation, who had quitted his Country a little after the breaking out of the Rebellion. He complained heavily of the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs in that Iſland. He ſaid, that the *Engliſh* Governors were too ready to drive the Natives to extremities; that they might enrich themſelves and their dependants by Forfeitures. He ſpoke with great abhorrence of the *Maſſacre*, but alledged, that the Puniſhment thereof fell heavieſt upon thoſe who had nothing to do with it. That at firſt, no Diſtinction was made between the Rebels and the well affected of the Catholicks; but that on the contrary, all the Papiſts in general were treated as Perſons proſcribed, which compelled Numbers to take Arms in their own Defence,

Defence, who otherwiſe abhorred Rebellion. That by degrees the King and his Miniſters were perſuaded of this which induced them to enter into a Correſpondence with the loyal *Catholicks*, and this gave a Handle to the Earl of *Holland*, when he deſerted the King, and returned to the Parliament to report that the Rebels in *Ireland* were countenanced by the King. He ſpake with mighty Concern of the Miſery of his Country, which in the Space of *thirty* Years, he affirmed had loſt a third Part of its Inhabitants, and deſcribed, whenever our Diſcourſes led him to it, the ſad Condition of the native *Iriſh* in very moving Terms.

THE *Scotchman* was deſcended of a *Popiſh* Family, and had been ſent while a Youth to *Paris*, for Education. The Murder of *Henry* IV. and the Books publiſhed on that Occaſion, gave him a high Diſguſt of the *Religion* he had been bred in, and a moſt bitter Averſion to the *Jeſuits*. He was, in other reſpects, a humane and pious Man; he recommended to the ſick Perſon ſolid and rational Penitence, and adviſed him to be rather afraid of continuing in a ſinful World, than of Death. He told him that to a Man who firmly believ'd the fundamental Doctrines of the *Chriſtian Faith*, the latter could not be very terrible; and he ſaid, that it was a ſtrong Teſtimony of the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Religion, that it diſarmed Death of its Sting, and taught a rational Creature to expect Diſſolution without horror. By the Care of theſe Men, our Maſter and ourſelves were much better'd, and as ſoon as he recovered, he embarked, and with a fair Wind, ſailed for the Port of *London*, where he arrived in *three* Days; and on Advice thereof, we immediately prepared for our Journey to *Roan*.

DIEPE, one of the ſafeſt Ports in *Normandy*, is ſeated on an Arm of the Sea, between *two* Hills, which by their ſhooting into the Sea, form a *Bay*; the entrance of the Haven is narrow, but once entered is very commodious. The Town itſelf is handſomely built, its Streets broad and well paved, the Houſes fair but not high; it was at this Time well fortified, but hath been ſince much improved. It was the firſt Town which acknowledged the Authority of *Henry* IV. and in its Neighbourhood he firſt fought for his Crown, and that too not much for his Advantage. During the whole War, he was very careful of it, being the Port where the *Engliſh* Succours generally debarqued. There are in it a great Number of Ivory Turners, and the Inhabitants in general ſeem to be active and induſtrious, and one Thing is eſpecially remarked for their Honour, that they have always produced from amongſt them, the beſt *Seamen* in *France*. To ſay the Truth, they are, generally ſpeaking, well qualified for maritime Employment, as they are more active, daring, and inquiſitive than their Neighbours. In the Broils which happened in the laſt Reign, the *Duke* of *Longueville*, who declared *againſt* the *King*, or rather *for* his *Mother* againſt his *Miniſter*, fortified *Diepe*, and the Works he then caſt up have been ever ſince maintain'd, and new ones added as Occaſion offered.

THE firſt of *June* 1662, we ſet out for *Roan*, where we arrived next Day, having travelled *thirteen* Leagues, *nine* the firſt Day, and *four* the ſecond. Mr. *Fetherſtone* having by way of Precaution written to his Friend M. *de St. Dennis*, he met us at *Toſtes*, where we lay, with a Coach, in which we came ſafe to his Houſe before Noon

Noon next Day. The Country through which we travelled was extremely pleaſant, or at leaſt it ſeem'd ſo to me. The Accommodations in the *Inn*, were not ſuch as could be boaſted of; but the Complacency of the People, and the earneſt Deſire they ſhewed to oblige us, amply ſupply'd all deficiences, and left us no room to complain. As we travelled the laſt four Leagues, Mr. *Fetherſtone* acquainted his Friend that ſome diſappointments in my expectations had engaged me to viſit *France*, and that he had recommended me to him as to a Perſon who would be ſure to prevent my repenting the beginning my Travels with the Sight of *Normandy*. Mr. *St. Dennis* ſaid, it happened very luckily, for that a Friend who had lived with him for about *Seven* Years being lately dead, he had ſome Thoughts of leaving *Roan*, moſt of the Inhabitants being of ſo litigious a Temper, that he found it no eaſy Matter to live at quiet, though he uſed all the Precaution imaginable, and was content to ſuffer ſmall Inconveniences, rather than attempt to remedy them by Law-Suits. He aſſured me that I ſhould be as much at Home as if the Houſe was my own, and that he would do all in his Power to make the Time of my ſtay agreeable to me. Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſaid, that in leſs than a Month he ſhould be obliged to go to *Paris*, and that it would give him the higheſt Satisfaction to ſee me ſo well ſettled. Thus by the Time we reached our Journey's End, all our Affairs were as well adjuſted, as if we had lived together many Years; nor do I know that during my ſtay at *Roan*, there happened the ſlighteſt Cauſe of diſſatisfaction to any of us.

THE Houſe of Mr. *de St. Dennis* ſtood near the City Wall. It was compoſed of a Body and two ſmall Wings,

Wings, the former had three, the latter, one Room each on a Floor, there was a Garden behind, which by the Gales from the River was render'd very cool and pleaſant; at the Bottom of it there was a ſmall Apartment, conſiſting of a kind of Hall, and two Cloſets, over which was a Library, twice as long as the lower Building, the Ends of it being ſupported by Pillars, forming two little Porticoes, one on each Side of the Hall. In this Hall we uſed to ſup of an Evening, during the Heat of the Summer, and to entertain ourſelves with Diſcourſes, either of a Serious or Comic Nature as Occaſion ſerv'd. Mr. *de St. Dennis* had an excellent Memory, a Bleſſing which I have obſerv'd to be more common in *France* than elſewhere; he had ſpent his Youth at Court, or in the Army; he had been always a great Lover of Books; and having enjoy'd a long Seaſon of Reſt and Recollection, there was hardly any Subject of which he could not ſpeak with great Propriety, and illuſtrate it with Stories equally pleaſant and to the Purpoſe.

It happen'd once, that ſpeaking of doubtful Events, Mr. *de St. Dennis* asked me, whether the Death of *Perkin Warbeck* as an Impoſtor, was not held to be of this Nature in *England?* To which I anſwer'd in the *Negative*, and that moſt People were ſatisfied he was what he was executed for, a *downright Impoſtor:* That may be, ſaid he, but at the Time of his Death, the general Opinion was otherwiſe, and many of your Countrymen of great Quality, took it upon their *Deaths*, that he was the Son of *Edward* IV; how the general Opinion comes to be now otherwiſe, continued he, I find it not difficult to aſſign the Cauſe. *Henry* VII. a wiſe

and

and artful Prince, as he put him to Death for an *Impoſtor*, ſo he took all the Care he could to eſtabliſh the Opinion of his being guilty after his Demiſe; as he likewiſe took Care to extinguiſh the Pretenſions of the *Houſe of York*, and to depreſs its Adherents during his whole Reign. His Son *Henry* VIII. followed the ſame *Maxims*; and in the Courſe of near 50 Years, that the Throne was afterwards fill'd by his Poſterity, whoſe Intereſt it was that this Story, true or falſe, ſhould be believ'd, we need not wonder that it became at laſt a kind of Article in your political Faith; and eſpecially ſeeing the *Houſe* of *Stuart* derived their *Rights*, not from the *Houſe* of *York*, but from that of *Lancaſter*.

FROM this Subject, by a Tranſition natural enough, we fell upon that of the Death of *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, which we all agreed was a moſt myſterious Point. As myſterious as it is, ſaid Mr. *de St. Dennis*, I have in my Library above Stairs, a little Tract concerning it, which belonged to Father *Cayet*, and which may be taken for as certain and impartial a Relation thereof, as any that the World hath hitherto met with; this was a Curioſity not to be paſſed by, I intreated the Favour of peruſing and making an Extract from it, which was readily granted. I have enquir'd concerning its principal Circumſtances with great Circumſpection, and have never met with any Reaſon to doubt the Credit of my Author, the Subſtance of whoſe Relation follows.

" *SEBASTIAN* King of *Portugal* was born in " the Year 1554. Sometime after the Demiſe of his Fa- " ther, Brother to the reigning King, and was carefully " educated by his Mother, who was Daughter to the

" famous

" famous Emperor *Charles* V. In 1557, he ſucceeded " his Uncle *John* III. In 1574, he conceiv'd a De- " ſign of making War on the *Moors*, and having made " mighty Preparations for putting his Deſign in Execu- " tion, on the 9th of *July*, 1578, he landed at *Tan- " gier* with a great Army; on the 4th of *Auguſt*, the " ſame Year, he fought the unfortunate Battle of *Al- " cacar*, in which the *Moors* were victorious; tho' they " loſt their King, who died of a Fever, of which he " had been long ſick, in his Litter.

" AFTER the Battle, the *Portugueze* miſſing their " King, ſent to thoſe who were taken Priſoners, who " thereupon ſought carefully for his Body, which, as " many ſuppoſed, was found. It had ſeven large " Wounds, and by Reaſon of the exceſſive Heat of " the Climate, was already in a State of Corruption. " However, it was laid in a Tent, and the Nobility " went to ſee it, but receiv'd no kind of Satisfaction, " that it was the Body of their King; on the contrary, " it was generally thought that it was not. Notwith- " ſtanding which, King *Philip* of *Spain*, having de- " manded it, and as ſome report, having given a vaſt Sum " for it; at length it was ſent him, and he cauſed it to be " interr'd, with all Royal Honours at *Bethlehem*, which " ſtands a Mile from *Lisbon*, and is the uſual Burying " Place of the *Portugueze* Kings.

" 'TIS certain, that the *Portugueze* Nation in gene- " ral, did never credit the Story of his Death; but were " ſo firmly perſuaded that he was alive, that they readi- " ly countenanc'd *two* Impoſtors, who were hardy " enough to aſſume his Name. The *firſt* of theſe was " the Son of a *Tile-Maker*, who was put upon it by

" a

" a Prieſt, who gave himſelf out to be the Biſhop of " *Garda*; and who took a Note of their Names who " beſtow'd their Benefactions on his *Diſciple*, in order " to their being repaid when he ſhould be reſtor'd. " They were quickly apprehended, the Prieſt hang'd, " and the pretended King ſent to the Gallies; this hap- " pen'd in the Year 1585.

" THE very ſame Year *Matthew Alvarez*, a Na- " tive of the Iſland of *Tercera*, and the Son of a " *Stone-Cutter*, was perſuaded to give himſelf out for " King *Sebaſtian*. This Man was a *Hermit*, and led " in Solitude a harmleſs inoffenſive Life. Many of " whom he begg'd believ'd they ſaw in his Counte- " nance the Features of Don *Sebaſtian*; they told him " ſo, but he very honeſtly anſwer'd, that he was no " *King*, but a *poor Hermit*. By Degrees however, " Ambition got the better, both of his Reaſon and of " his Virtue; he no longer anſwer'd as he was won't, " but on the contrary, gave all who interrogated him " Cauſe to apprehend that he was really the King. " By Degrees he permitted them to pay him Royal " Honours, ſuffer'd his Hand to be kiſſed, and dined in " Publick; nay, he went ſo far at laſt, as to write to " the *Cardinal Archduke Albert*, commanding him to " quit his Palace, for that he intended to reſume the " Government. Upon this, a Body of Troops was " ſent againſt him and his Adherents, by whom they " were routed, and himſelf taken Priſoner. His Death " quickly follow'd, accompanied with extraordinary " Marks of Severity. He had his Right Hand cut off, " after which he was ſtrangl'd, and his Body quarter'd. " By his Means the *Spaniſh* Government reckoned a

" Stop

" Stop would be put to the Hopes of *Pretenders*, and " to the credulous Folly of the *Portugueze*.

" In 1598, notwithſtanding theſe Severities, there " went a Report, that the true Don *Sebaſtian* had been " ſeen in *Italy*. Upon this, one *Manuel Antonez*, " who had ſerved the Cardinal *Henry*, who ſucceeded " Don *Sebaſtian*, declar'd publickly in *Portugal*, that " *Sebaſtian* was not kill'd at the Battle of *Alcacar*, but " that himſelf return'd with him into *Portugal*; and " that the King put himſelf into a Religious *Houſe* in " *Algarve*, there to do Pennance for his Temerity, " in Vindication of which Account, he produced an " Act drawn up in Form, under the Hand and Seal of " the Father, *Guardian* of that Religious Houſe. This " Affair making a great Noiſe, *Manuel Antonez* was " directed to apply himſelf to the Court of *Spain*, which " Order he obey'd, and having produced his Paper to " King *Philip*, was ſeized, committed to Priſon, and " never heard of more.

" This new *Sebaſtian* appear'd firſt at *Padua*, where " many pitied and reliev'd him. This making ſome " Noiſe in the World, Directions were ſent to *Padua* " from *Venice*, to oblige the Perſon who called himſelf " King of *Portugal*, to retire from thence in three Days, " and in the Space of a Week, to quit the Dominions " of *Venice*. He was ſick when this Order was noti- " fied to him, but as ſoon as he recover'd he went to " *Venice*, in order to give an Account of himſelf to " the *Seignory*. The Ambaſſador of *Spain* inſtantly " applied himſelf to that *Senate*, demanding that this " *Impoſtor* ſhould be apprehended, and charging him " with many enormous Crimes. He was accordingly

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" in the Month of *November* thrown into a Dungeon,
" and Commiſſioners appointed to hear what the *Spa-*
" *niſh* Ambaſſador could prove againſt him, which came
" at laſt to nothing at all.

" He was Eight and Twenty Times examined; at firſt
" he anſwer'd readily all the Queſtions that were ask'd
" him concerning the Embaſſies ſent to him, while he
" was King of *Portugal*, the Meaſures he had taken,
" the Letters he had written, and the Miniſters he had
" made Uſe of. But at laſt he refus'd to anſwer any
" more Queſtions, addreſſing himſelf to his Judges in
" theſe Words. *My Lords, I am* Sebaſtian *King of*
" Portugal, *I deſire you will ſuffer me to be ſeen by*
" *my Subjects, many of them have known, and muſt*
" *remember me; many others, Strangers to that Nation,*
" *have likewiſe ſeen and converſed with me; if any Proof*
" *can be offered, that I am an Impoſtor I am content to*
" *die; but would you put me to Death meerly for having*
" *preferred you to the reſt of the* European *Powers, in*
" *ſeeking Refuge in your Dominions?*

" Doctor *Sampajo*, and other *Portugueze*, then Re-
" ſident in *Venice*, ſolicited vehemently his being ſet at
" Liberty; the Commiſſioners inform'd them, that
" without a Certificate of indubitable Authenticity, as
" to the *Marks* by which Don *Sebaſtian* might be
" known, they could not ſet this Perſon at Liberty;
" becauſe they knew their Hatred to the *Caſtilians* to
" be ſuch, that if Need were, they would acknowledge
" a *Negroe* to be Don *Sebaſtian*. Dr. *Sampajo* upon
" this went privately to *Lisbon*, from whence he return'd,
" and brought with him to *Venice* a *Canon*, and an In-
" ſtrument ſign'd by an *Apoſtolick Notary*, containing an

" exact

" exact Account of the Marks on Don. *Sebaſtian*'s " Body; whereupon he renew'd his Requeſt, which " the *Seignory* evaded, alledging, they could not enter " into ſuch an Inquiry at the Requeſt of private Perſons, " but that they were ready to do it, if any of the Po- " tentates of *Europe* intereſted themſelves therein. The " *Portugueze* upon this, applied themſelves to Foreign " Courts with unwearied Diligence.

" At laſt, on the 11th of *December* the ſame Year, " Don *Chriſtopher* the younger, Son of Don *Antonio*, " once King of *Portugal*, attended by *Sebaſtian Figuera*, " arriv'd at *Venice*, with Letters from the *States Gene-* " *ral* and Prince *Maurice*. Upon this, a Day of Au- " dience was appointed, on which the Perſon calling " himſelf *Sebaſtian*, was ſeated on the Right Hand of " the Prince, and permitted to deliver his Pretenſions " in Writing to the *Duke*, and two Hundred *Senators*, " who when they ſpoke to him gave him the Title of " *Illuſtriſſimo*. This was on the *Tueſday*, on *Wedneſ-* " *day*, *Thurſday*, and *Friday*, the *Council* was conti- " nued. At *Ten* in the Evening of the laſt mention'd " Day, they made their Report to the *Senate*, who im- " mediately ſummon'd Don *Sebaſtian* before them, to " whom they gave the ſame Injunction that he had " before receiv'd at *Padua*; while this Order which " was in Writing was read, the *Senators* continued " ſtanding, while he who call'd himſelf *Sebaſtian* ſate, " and remain'd cover'd.

" When he came out he would not ſuffer any to " accompany him to the Houſe where he had firſt " lodged, where he found *Roderigo Marquez*, and *Sa-* " *baſtian Figuera*, who at the firſt Sight of him were

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" extremely ſurpriz'd: They ſaid he was much chang'd,
" but that they were poſitive he was the King, of which
" they adviſed his Couſin *Don Chriſtopher*, who there-
" upon ordered he ſhould be conducted to the Lodgings
" of *Don John de Caſtro*, which were in a more pri-
" vate Part of the City.

" THERE he ſhew'd himſelf to all the *Portugueze*,
" obſerving to them, that his Perſon was very remark-
" able, his whole *Right* Side being bigger than his
" *Left*; he meaſured his Arms, his Legs, his Thighs,
" then kneeling down, he diſcover'd that his right
" Shoulder was higher than his left by three Inches, he
" ſhewed them the Scar of his right Eye-brow, and
" ſuffer'd all who deſired to feel with their Fingers,
" a remarkable Cleft in his Skull. He then ſhewed
" them that he wanted a *Tooth* on the right Side of his
" lower Jaw, which he ſaid had been drawn by *Seba-*
" *ſtian Nero* his Barber, all the reſt of his Teeth being
" firm and ſtrong. They would then have had him eat,
" but he refuſed ſo to do, becauſe it was *Friday*. As
" thoſe who were about him came from different
" Countries, ſome were Habited after the *Dutch*, ſome
" after the *Italian*, others after the *French* Faſhion;
" one whoſe Name was *Francis Antonio*, was in the
" Garb of a *Pilgrim*, with a Staff in his Hand. *Se-*
" *baſtian* ſtanding by the Fire, after continuing a long
" Time ſilent, at laſt ſaid with a Smile, *Tanto trage!*
" *What odd Faſhions!* Upon which, ſome of the *Por-*
" *tugueze* Nobility, who had been to that Time ſilent,
" cry'd out, that from the Manner of his pronouncing
" thoſe Words, they knew him to be the King. The
" *ſecond* Night underſtanding that all the Paſſes into the

" Country of the *Griſons* were ſecured, he went over " into the *Terra Firma* in the Habit of a *Monk*, but " when he quitted *Padua*, he reſumed his Cloak and " Sword, took the Road to *Florence*, and was there ar- " reſted by Order of the *Grand Duke*.

" THE King of *Spain* immediately demanded that " he ſhould be put into his Hands, which the *Grand* " *Duke* refuſed to do, juſtifying himſelf by the Example " of the *State* of *Venice*. However the Duke of *Savoy* " preparing to invade his Dominions, he cauſed *Seba-* " *ſtian* to be ſent to *Orbitello*, and put into the Hands " of the *Spaniards*. The Wits in *Italy* were mightily " divided on this Accident, ſome commending the " *Grand Duke* for diſcouraging an *Impoſtor*; others " alledging, that it was a direct Breach of Faith. He " who call'd himſelf King of *Portugal*, underſtood it " in this Light, he reproached the *Grand Duke*'s Of- " ficers in the ſevereſt Terms, adding, when he was " deliver'd to the *Spaniards*, that he did not doubt but " God would puniſh the Houſe of *Medicis* for their Per- " fidy towards him.

" AT *Naples* he was impriſon'd in the Caſtle *del* " *Ovo*, and as the *Portugueze* affirm, was lock'd up in a " Chamber for *three* Days, without having any Suſte- " nance given him, or ſo much as ſeeing the Face of any " Perſon; only a *Rope* and a *Knife* of half a Foot " long were left in a Corner of the Room. *Sebaſtian* " did not make Uſe of either of theſe Remedies, but " bore with Patience and Reſignation all the Injuries " and Hardſhips which were put upon him. The " *fourth* Day the *Auditor* General, accompanied by " *two* Secretaries, made him a Viſit: This Magiſtrate

" told

" told the Priſoner in few Words, that provided he laid " aſide the Chimerical Stile he had hitherto aſſumed, " he might have Meat, Drink, a convenient Lodging, " and other Accomodations. *I cannot do that*, ſaid he, " *I am Don* Sebaſtian *King of* Portugal, *whoſe Sins* " *have drawn upon him theſe ſevere Chaſtiſements; I am* " *content to die after what manner you pleaſe, but to deny* " *the Truth, that I can never do.* After this he was " allow'd Bread and Water for ſome Time, and then " *five* Crowns a Month, and a Servant to attend him.

" THE *Conde de Lemos*, at that Time Viceroy of " *Naples*, being deſirous to ſee him, he was conducted " to the Palace, where ent'ring the Hall, and perceiving " the Count bare-headed, which happened accidentally, " on Account of the Heat of the Weather, he ſaid in " a grave and majeſtic Tone. *Conde de* Lemos *be co-* " *ver'd.* The Spectators being aſtoniſh'd, the *Count* " asked him with ſome Diſdain, by what Authority he " bid him be cover'd? *By an Authority*, replied the " Priſoner, *to which my Birth entituled me. But why,* " *Sir, do you pretend not to know me? I remember you* " *very well; my Uncle* Philip *ſent you twice to me into* " Portugal, *where you had ſuch and ſuch private Confe-* " *rences with me.* The *Count*, touch'd with this Diſ- " courſe, continu'd ſome Time ſilent; at laſt, he ſaid to " the Keeper who was with him, *Take him away, he* " *is an Impoſtor. No Sir*, return'd he, *I am the un-* " *fortunate King of* Portugal, *and you know it well.* " *A Man of your Quality ought on all Occaſions, either* " *to be ſilent, or to ſpeak the Truth.* While the *Conde* " *de Lemos* liv'd, except his Impriſonment, *Sebaſtian* " endur'd no great Hardſhip; he was allow'd to live

" as he pleaſed, and was permitted to go to *Chapel* " whenever he deſir'd it. He faſted regularly *Friday's* " and *Saturday's*, and during the whole *Lent* contented " himſelf with *Herbs* and *Roots*, receiv'd the *Sacrament*, " and went to Confeſſion conſtantly.

" THE *Conde de Lemos* was ſucceeded in his Go- " vernment by his Son, who treated *Sebaſtian* with " great Rigor. The Biſhop of *Reggio* was ſent to ex- " orciſe him, (the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry on Account of his " Anſwers, affecting to believe he was a Magician) " This Prelate having perform'd his Office with great " Solemnity, the Priſoner drew a little *Crucifix* out of " his Boſom: *Behold*, ſaid he, *the Badge of my Pro-* " *feſſion, the Standard of that Captain whom to the laſt* " *Drop of my Blood I ſhall ſerve.* On the *firſt* of *April* " 1602, he was carried from the Caſtle mounted upon " an *Aſs*, three Trumpets ſounding before him, and a " Herald proclaiming theſe Words, *His moſt Catholick* " *Majeſty hath commanded this Man to be led through* " *the Streets of* Naples *with all Marks of Ignominy,* " *and then to ſerve on Board the Gallies for Life, for* " *giving himſelf out to be Don* Sebaſtian *King of* Por- " tugal, *whereas he is a* Calabrian. The Trumpets " ſounded before and after Proclamation. When the " Heralds ſpoke of his calling himſelf King, he cried " out, *and ſo I am*; when he came to the Word *Ca-* " *labrian*, the Priſoner cried out again, *that is falſe.*

" AFTER this, he was put on Board the Gallies, and " for a Day or two, chain'd to the Oar; but as ſoon " as they were out of the Port, they reſtored him his " own Cloaths, and treated him like a Gentleman. In " the Month of *Auguſt* 1602, the Gallies came into Port

" Port St. *Lucar*, where the Duke and Dutcheſs of " *Medina Sidonia* deſired to ſee the Priſoner. When " they had converſed together ſome Time; *Sebaſtian* " asked the Duke if he had ſtill the Sword which he " gave him? *I have*, reply'd the Duke cautiouſly, *a* " *Sword given me by Don* Sebaſtian, *when he went to* " Africk, *which I keep among other Swords preſented to* " *me. Let them be brought*, ſaid the Priſoner, *I ſhall* " *know the Sword I gave you.* A Servant being ſent " upon this Occaſion, return'd preſently with a dozen. " *Sebaſtian* having examin'd them, *one* by *one*, turn'd " gravely to the Duke and ſaid, *Sir, my Sword is not* " *here.* The Servant being remanded to bring the reſt, " as ſoon as he came with them, *Sebaſtian* catched one " out of his Hand, crying out, *This Sir, is the Sword* " *I gave you.* When he came to be put on Board the " Gallies, he ſaid to the Dutcheſs: *Madam, I have no-* " *thing to give you now, when I went to* Africk *I gave* " *you a Ring, if you will ſend for it I will tell you a* " *Secret*; the Dutcheſs ſaid, it was true the King of " *Portugal* had given her a Ring, and ordered it to be " ſent for. When *Sebaſtian* ſaw it, *preſs it with your* " *Fingers Madam*, ſaid he, *the Jewel may then be ta-* " *ken out, and beneath it you will find my Cypher*, " which proved true. The Duke and Dutcheſs ſhed " Tears at his Departure. When he took his Leave " he ſaid to the Dutcheſs, *Madam, the Negroe Slave* " *who attends you, formerly waſhed my Linnen. Seba-* " *ſtian* was after this impriſoned, yet treated with Le- " nity till he died, which happen'd at four Years End, " always perſiſting that he was in Truth what he " gave himſelf out to be."

Mr. *de St. Dennis* was the firſt who ſpoke to me of the Neceſſity of acting upon ſettled Principles, and propoſing ſome certain End to myſelf; a Thing eaſily apprehended by my Judgment, but hardly reconcileable to my Inclinations. I had left my Country young; had framed to myſelf no diſtinct Ideas, either of Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the Inſtructions I had receiv'd on one Hand, were hindered from making any great Impreſſion by thoſe given me on the other; the odd turn my Affairs had taken, had in a manner joſtled out both; ſo that when I came into this *French* Gentleman's Family, my Mind was a kind of Blank, in which, except the firſt Principles of Morality and the Chriſtian Religion, there was nothing written, or at leaſt nothing which might not eaſily have been effaced. To him I ſtood indebted for moſt of thoſe Maxims, which in ſucceeding Years preſerv'd me from thoſe Misfortunes which are too common to Wanderers, and which in Spight of that roving Temper, that I could never totally ſubdue, maintained me in a State of tolerable Tranquility in my own Breaſt, and hindered me from becoming offenſive to others. He directed my Studies, inform'd me what Books were worth reading, and what would only burthen my Memory without informing my Underſtanding. From him I learn'd to place Religion in my Heart, and in my Actions, without ſuffering it to dwell too much upon my Lips; to preſerve a reſpectful Behaviour towards the eſtabliſh'd *Form* of *Religion*, and towards the *Clergy* in all Countries; to habituate my ſelf to Acts of Charity, and to a Complacency for all ſorts of Perſons with whom I had Occaſion to converſe. Mr. *Fetherſtone* inſtructed me as to the Methods

of

of remitting Money, and of travelling with Eaſe and Safety through *France* and *Italy*. After we had been at *Rouen* about ſix Weeks, he ſet out for *Paris*, and return'd a few Days after with the News of his Uncle's Death, which happened ſuddenly, the Day after he arriv'd, by which he became poſſeſſed of a little Fortune, which turned into ready Money, amounted to about 4000 *Livres*.

In the *Spring* of the Year 1663, I receiv'd from my Uncle, Bills of *Exchange* for about 1000 *l.* with a Security on his Eſtate for the Remainder of my Fortune. I then determined to travel into *Italy*, not judging it proper to reſide at *Paris*, on Account of the Influence of the *Engliſh* Court, and the Pains which I knew had been taken to apprehend ſuch as had been for the *Parliament*, and had fled on that Account into *France*. We determined to ſet out in *April*, and in the mean Time, Mr. *de St. Dennis* carried me to moſt of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, giving me proper Information as to the Antiquities, and other Particularities, whereby they were rendered remarkable.

The Caſtle of *Ivetot*, with a pretty Lordſhip round it, lies at a ſmall Diſtance from *Rouen*, it was at the Time that I ſaw it in the Hands of Mr. *de Belloy*, a Perſon of great Family, and who ſeldom reſided there. This Manor or Lordſhip, is the Glory of the *Pais de Caux*, having been formerly a diſtinct Kingdom, and remaining to this Day a Principality, of which this is, as I was informed, an authentick Account. *Gautier de Ivetot* was Chamberlain to King *Clotaire*, and a Gentleman of great Courage, as well as wonderful Probity; Qualities which gained him the Love of his *Sovereign*,

and in Conſequence thereof, the Hatred of his Courtiers, who deviſed ſo many Stories to his Prejudice, that the poor Man thought proper to retire from Court, and even to quit his native Country. Ten Years he travelled Abroad, and with equal Valour and Succeſs, fought againſt the *Sarracens*. At length being deſirous to return into *France*, he went to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by Pope *Agapetus* with great Honours, and obtain'd Letters recommendatory to King *Clotaire*, which he preſented him at *Amiens* on *Good-Friday*, as the King was at Chapel. At firſt the King did not remember him, but perceiving by the *Pope*'s Letters who he was, he ſuddenly catch'd a Sword from one of his Guards, and kill'd the unfortunate Gentleman, who was on his Knees before him. The *Pope* ſo highly reſented this Fact, that he immediately ſent a *Legate* to inform the King, that he would put him and his whole Kingdom under an *Interdict*, if he did not give the Church Satisfaction for the Murder of *Gautier de Ivetot*. The King thereupon declared, that as he had violated the Bonds by which Princes and Subjects are united to each other, he was content to releaſe the Deſcendants of *Gautier de Ivetot*, from all Homage, Fealty, or other Obligation, in reſpect of the Lands by him poſſeſſed at that Day, which he accordingly did by a ſolemn Act dated A. D. 553. Thus the Lordſhip of *Ivetot* was erected into a Kingdom; but on the Extinction of the Family, the Title was reduc'd to that of a *Principality*.

THE *Pais de Caux* is one of the richeſt Diſtricts of *Normandy*, tho' not very large, the Worth of this Territory may be gueſſed from the following ſhort and pleaſant Deſcription.

Au noble pays *de Caux*,
Y a quatre *Abbayes Royaux*,
Six *Prieurez conventaux*,
Et ſix *Barons de grand arroy*,
Quatres *Comtes*, trois *Ducs*, un *Roy*.

The *Engliſh* of which is:

In the fruitful Pays de Caux,
Royal Abbies *there are* four,
Six *fair* Priories *alſo*,
Of *Baronies* as many more:
Four *Earls*, three *Dukes*, from thence their *Titles* bring,
And what is *greater* ſtill——Here dwells a KING.

THE King hinted at in theſe Verſes, is the King of *Ivetot* before-mention'd; I ſhall not pretend to ſet down the Names of the other Places mention'd in the Verſes. It is ſufficient to ſay, that *Diepe*, *Havre de Grace*, *Harfleur*, and other remarkable Places are ſeated in this Diſtrict. The Eſtates of the Inhabitants deſcend to the eldeſt Son entire, contrary to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*, by which Lands deſcend in *Gavel-kind*.

OUR next Journey was towards the other Side of *Normandy*, *viz.* to *Caen*. It is certainly a very antient, and remains to this Day, a very beautiful and pleaſant Place; but to believe that it was built by an *Iſraelite*, called *Cademoth*, or that the famous *Cadmus* laid its firſt Stone, requires more Faith than an intelligent Man is uſually Maſter of. Without troubling one's ſelf farther, as to a Point not eaſily to be ſettled, let it ſuffice that it is

ſtrong,

ſtrong, populous, rich, and pleaſant, watered by *two* fair Rivers, and ſeated but at a very ſmall Diſtance from the Sea. Adorned with a Univerſity, and protected by a Caſtle, which, if its Fortifications anſwered its Situation, could not be eaſily taken. In this Caſtle there is a *Donjon*, or high ſquare Tower; in antient Times the Mark of a *Barony*, or Lordſhip. In this City, amongſt other ſtately religious Houſes, ſtands an Abbey, dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*, which acknowledges for its Founder, *William* the *Conqueror*. In 1542, a Vault being opened in a Church of the ſaid Abbey, there the Bodies of that *Prince*, and of his Wife *Matilda*, were found. This City is the Capital of lower *Normandy*, and the Head of a *Bailiwick*, which derives it Name from thence, and is of a very conſiderable Extent. Yet with all theſe Advantages, it is not a Biſhoprick, but makes a Part of the Dioceſe of the Biſhop of *Bayeux*.

THERE are many Monuments of the *Engliſh* Dominion in this, as indeed there are in moſt of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, and many of the *Gentry* are of *Sirnames* well known in *England*. This gives the Inhabitants a peculiar Affection for the Natives of our Iſland; but I cannot agree with ſome ſanguine Travellers, that they are deſirous of returning under our Dominion, the *French* in general being as loyal to their Princes, as moſt Nations in *Europe*.

At my Return to *Roan*, I expected to have found a Letter from my Uncle, in Anſwer to a long Epiſtle I had written him, as to my Intention of viſiting *Italy*; but, to my great Surprize, no Letter was come, neither did I receive one in *three* Weeks; I was afraid of writing

writing again, no Friend in *England* had my Address, it was dangerous to make any Enquiries at *Paris*; at length, growing very impatient, Mr. *Fetherſtone*, tho' his Affairs were rather in a worſe Situation than mine, I mean with Reſpect to the Government, offered to go to *England* to obtain ſome Satisfaction. I cannot tell, whether in Juſtice I ought to have expoſed him to ſo great a Riſque as he ran; but being a young Man, and as yet little acquainted with Diſappointments, I readily accepted his Kindneſs, and we immediately concerted the Means for his Paſſage from *Calais* without Suſpicion.

M. *de St. Denis* had ſome Manuſcripts relating to Chemiſtry, which he cauſed to be very fairly tranſcribed, bound in a Velvet Cover, and embоſſed with Gold, the whole ſo tinctured with a Solution of *Saffron*, that they appeared to have been written a long Time. Theſe Manuſcripts Mr. *Fetherſtone* carry'd to *Paris*, and by the Means of an *Engliſh* Roman Catholick, whoſe Name was *Talbot*, got himſelf recommended to an Agent of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, who firſt endeavour'd to buy the Manuſcripts; and finding that impracticable, procured Paſſes for my Friend under the Name of *Vincent le Blanc*, to go over into *England* with a certain ſealed Packet directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

THIS Scheme ſucceeded perfectly well. Mr. *Fetherſtone* came ſafe to *London*, took Lodgings in St. *Martin's-Lane*, and after three Weeks Negociation with the Duke, ſold him the Manuſcripts for *ſixty* Pounds. In this Time he learned that a *Plot* either real or pretended had been diſcovered, and my Uncle, on Account of ſome Remittances made to General *Ludlow*, had been apprehended and brought up to *London*, where tho' there was

no

no Foundation for this Suſpicion, after nine Weeks cloſe Impriſonment, he was at length not totally ſet at Liberty, but admitted to *Bail*. When he was by this means at Liberty as to his Perſon, Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſaw him, and receiv'd from him Inſtructions for me not to write any more by the Method hitherto uſed; he likewiſe ſignified his Approbation of my going into *Italy*, and gave Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſome Letters for *Engliſh* Gentlemen there. This Buſineſs being done, Mr. *Fetherſtone* prepared for his Return, and upon Application to the Duke, eaſily procured ſuch Licences as were neceſſary for his paſſing out of the Kingdom. The Day before he was to ſet out taking a walk in the Park, he was met and known by Lieutenant Colonel *Brown*, who had been an Officer in *Cromwell*'s Guards; the Colonel preſſed him to dine with him, which after ſome Difficulty Mr. *Fetherſtone* conſented to, and fixed on a Houſe in *Old-Palace-Yard*, promiſing to be there exactly at *One* o'Clock. But when he had thus diſengag'd himſelf for the preſent, he ſent his Cloak-bag to an Inn in *Southwark*, and taking Poſt-Horſes, made the utmoſt Diſpatch to *Dover*, where embarking, in *three* hours time he paſs'd to *Calais*, and from thence came the next Day to *Roan*.

WHEN after the firſt Compliments, he told me this Story, and I asked him how he came to fatigue himſelf ſo exceſſively, when there was no appearance of the Colonel's betraying him; he anſwered, That it was one of *Thurloe*'s Maxims. *A Man ſhould in nowiſe hazard his Safety for a Dinner, and a little idle Chat, which can never produce much Good, and may poſſibly iſſue in Ruin.* I was perfectly ſatisfied with his Conduct in this Journey, and on his Return began to prepare in earneſt for my Paſſage

Paſſage into *Italy*, where I flattered my ſelf I ſhould be extremely delighted, though I knew not why or wherefore; which I take to be a Circumſtance no way peculiar to me, but common to moſt young Travellers, who ſeek Pleaſure in every Thing but *Quiet*, which on this Side of the Grave is moſt capable of affording true Satisfaction.

A little before I ſet out M. *de St. Dennis*, receiv'd Advice from *Paris*, that a Perſon of Diſtinction to whom he was well known, was to go ſhortly to *Italy* on the King's Affairs. The good old Man laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to procure for me a very commodious Method of Travelling. For the better effecting of this he invited M. *de St. Paul*, a very ancient Gentleman, and Uncle to him in whoſe Train I was to go, to come to his Houſe to Supper. This Gentleman, tho' he was little leſs than *fourſcore*, had abundance of Life and Spirit, and told us many entertaining Stories, eſpecially of the Court of *Henry* IV. in which he had liv'd four or five Years. I laid hold of this Opportunity to enquire into the Particulars of that Prince's Death. M. *de St. Paul* told me, that many things were remarked concerning it, which were truly extraordinary, of which he gave us a Multitude of Inſtances, the moſt remarkable were theſe.

On *Thurſday* the 13th of *May* 1610, being the Day of the Queen's Coronation, and the Day before the Murder of the King; his Majeſty in the Evening was ſpeaking with great Marks of Tenderneſs of the Queen, and of her Conduct, during the Ceremony; *La Broſſe*, an old Phyſician, diſcourſing with the Duke *de Vendome*, ſaid, *If his* Majeſty *out-lives a Miſchief which threatens him*

him at preſent, he will live theſe thirty Years. The Duke *de Vendome* immediately deſired the King to hear what *La Broſſe* had to ſay. *What is it?* ſaid the King tartly. The *Duke* held his Peace, but the King commanding him to ſpeak; he told him what *La Broſſe* had juſt before ſaid: *He is an old Fool for telling you ſuch Things, and you are a young Fool* (ſaid the King) *if you believe him. Sire*, returned the Duke, *One ought not to believe ſuch Things, but one may fear them. All* France *is bound to take Care of your Majeſty; and as for me, I am more bound thereto than any other. Let me beſeech you to hear* La Broſſe. *Hold your Tongue*, cried the King, *I will not hear him. Well Sire*, ſaid the Duke of *Vendome* then, *I will carry him to the Duke. If you do*, ſaid the King haſtily, *I will never love you more.* He repeated theſe Words in ſo angry a Tone, that the Duke of *Vendome* deſiſted, and *La Broſſe* was not heard.

THE ſame Day as the King was going with the Queen into his Cabinet, he ſtopp'd to ſpeak to ſomebody, upon which the Queen ſtopp'd alſo, *Paſſez, paſſez, Madam la Regente*, i. e. *Go on, go on, Madam the Regent*, ſaid the King. A few Days before his Death the Queen had two odd *Dreams*. She fancied that the Diamonds, Rubies, and other Jewels in her Crown, were changed into *Pearls*, and that ſhe was told *Pearls* ſignified *Tears*. The Night after ſhe ſtarted and cried out in her Sleep; the King waking, catched her in his Arms, and asked her what was the Matter. *I have had a frightful Dream*, ſaid ſhe, *but Dreams are Deluſions. I have always thought ſo too*, ſaid the King; *however tell me what it was.* With much Intreaty ſhe proceeded. *I dreamt*, ſaid ſhe, *that you were ſtabb'd with*

with a Knife under the ſhort Ribs. Bleſſed be God, ſaid the King, *it was but a Dream*, and ſo went to Sleep.

On the Day the King was kill'd, he was obſerved to be very uneaſy; nay, he obſerv'd it himſelf, and ſaid ſeveral Times, that ſomething ſat heavy on his Heart. When he was going out he aſked if the Coach was below. The Villain who kill'd him was at the Foot of the Stairs, and was heard to mutter. *I ſhall have you, you are loſt.* He thrice took leave of the Queen before he went into the Coach. He then ſeemed to reſume himſelf, he forbid the Guards to follow him out of the *Louvre*; ſent the Captain to the *Palais*; the Lieutenant was ſick; the Enſign was gone with a Meſſage to the *Preſident du Harlay*; ſo that the Coach was open on all Sides; his Attendance went through another Street; the *Rue de la Ferronneire* being very narrow, was encumber'd with *two* Waggons, one laden with Wine, the other with Corn, which obliged the King's Coach to ſtop. At that Inſtant the King threw back his Cloak, and put himſelf into ſuch a Poſition, as left his Side wholly expoſed to the *Aſſaſſin*, who ſaid himſelf afterwards, that he thruſt his Knife into the King's Body, as into a *Sack* of *Corn*.

It was remark'd, that in the Space of a Week the *French* ſaw two Kings interred, who both died by the *Knives* of *Aſſaſſins*; for but a few Days before his own Death, *Henry* IV. had cauſed his Predeceſſor to be ſolemnly interred. It is certain that in *Flanders* the King's Death was ſpoke of as ſoon as it happen'd, and the Queen's Jeweller receiv'd a Letter the next Day from one of his Correſpondents, deſiring that he would inform him whether the King was kill'd or no. M. *de St. Paul*

laid

laid great Streſs on theſe *Omens*; and indeed I have heard others ſpeak of them with Surprize; for my own part, I know not what to ſay; this I know, that many raſh and ignorant People diſregard and laugh at theſe Things, and that Men of great Wiſdom and Learning ſpeak of them with Diffidence, and ſtrive rather to encourage others to ſlight them, than ſhew any real Contempt of them themſelves.

By the Help of this Mr. *de St. Paul*, I was ſo effectually recommended to the Count *de Gaſſion*, that he readily conſented to my going with him into *Italy*, and even did me the Honour of his Intimacy and Friendſhip. Mr. *Fetherſtone* had engag'd in ſome Concerns of Trade, and therefore choſe to remain at *Roan*. When all things were ready, my private Concerns ſettled, and my Debt, tho' not my Obligation to my kind Hoſt M. *de St. Dennis* diſcharg'd, I ſet out with my Man *Johnſon* for *Paris*.

The City of *Roan* is as pleaſant, populous, and well built as any in *France*. Ships of conſiderable Burden come up the River *Seine*, and lye cloſe to the Key. The Bridge which riſes and falls with the River, is venerable for its Antiquity, admirable for its Beauty, and valuable for its Conveniency. At *Roan* the Parliament of *Normandy* is fixed, it aſſembles in an elegant Building by far more beautiful and ſtately, as well as more neat and convenient than that at *Paris*, deſtin'd to the ſame Uſe. It is compoſed of *two* Preſidents, *twenty* Counſellors, and as many Advocates as the Court thinks fit to admit. The *firſt* Preſident takes Place of the Governor of the Province, unleſs in a Convention of the Eſtates, for there the Governor preſides. The Archbiſhop of *Roan*

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is Primate of *Normandy*, and the firſt of his Predeceſſors was conſecrated Archbiſhop during the general Council at *Arles* under *Conſtantine* the Great. The Revenue of the See may amount to *three thouſand* Pounds *per Ann.* of our Money. Beſides the Cathedral and Religious Houſes there are in *Roan thirty-two* Pariſh-Churches. The Metropolitan Church is dedicated to *our Lady*, and is remarkable for its having three fine Towers. One of theſe, becauſe it was built with the Money ariſing from the Sale of Diſpenſations to eat *Butter* in *Lent*, is called *La Tour de Beurre*, or the *Butter Tower*. In the Tower over the Porch hangs the great Bell ſo much talk'd of, call'd from him who placed it there, *George Amboiſe*. It is about *thirteen* Foot high, *eleven* in Diameter, and weighs, as the old *French* Verſes upon it tell us, *Forty Thouſand* Pounds.

THE principal Abbey is dedicated to St. *Owen*, of whom I am almoſt aſhamed to tell a Story that is however univerſally received here. They ſay there was a great Dragon in the Neighbourhood which did prodigious Miſchief, and which became at laſt ſo formidable, that the People began to quit their Houſes, and to leave the Country deſolate. *Romanus* was then Archbiſhop of *Roan*, who commiſerating the Diſtreſs of his Flock, reſolved to go in Queſt of this Dragon. Before he ſet out he choſe for his Companions, a *Thief* and a *Murderer*, who were at that time in Priſon. When he drew near the *Dragon's* Den, and that dreadful Creature came hiſſing towards him, the *Thief* took to his Heels, but the *Murderer* ſtuck faſt by the Archbiſhop, who when he had offered up his Prayers to *God*, took off his *Stole*, and advancing directly to the *Dragon*, put it about his Neck,

and delivered him, thus made Priſoner, to the *Murderer*, who carried the Creature in Triumph to the *City*, where it was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt to Aſhes. This Exploit is ſaid to have been performed on *Holy Thurſday*, in what Year I cannot pretend to ſay. Thus much is certain, that St. *Owen*, who ſucceeded St. *Romanus*, certified this Fact. to King *Dagobert*, about the Year of Chriſt 635, and obtained from him a perpetual Edict, whereby the *Canons* of the *Cathedral Church* are veſted with a Power of delivering on every *Aſcenſion-Day*, any Criminal appointed to ſuffer Death. But the *Criminal* muſt give Security to aſſiſt either himſelf, or by *Proxy*, at the annual Proceſſion in Memory of this *Miracle* for *ſeven* Years.

NORMANDY, divided into the *higher* and *lower*, is one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces in *France*, as well in Regard to its Fertility, as Extent, and always made a very diſtinguiſhed Figure in the World. It was formerly reckon'd a Part of *Neuſtria*, or the Kingdom of *Soiſſons*, but in the ninth Century it chang'd its Name and its Maſters, being yielded by *Charles* the Simple to the *Normans*, whereupon *Rollo* their Prince call'd it *Normandy*, and ſtiled himſelf *Duke* thereof. The Deſcendant and Succeſſor of this Prince, *William* the *Conqueror*, annexed it to *England*. When *John*, the Grandſon of that Prince mounted the Throne, he ſeized this Dutchy as well as he had done the Kingdom, in Prejudice to his Nephew *Arthur*, who in a ſhort time after was murdered, with Circumſtances ſtrongly inſinuating the Connivance at leaſt, if not the Direction of his *Uncle*. Upon this King *John*, as a *Peer* of *France*, was ſummoned to anſwer before the *Parliament* of *Paris*, where

where by neglecting to appear, either by himſelf or Proxy, he was by *Arret* of *Parliament* declared Convict, and his Lands forfeited. Whereupon *Philip Auguſtus*, King of *France*, did in the Year 1202, ſeize the ſaid *Dutchy* into his Hands.

It was afterwards however recovered by the *Engliſh*, and finally taken from them by *Charles* VII. and inſeparably annexed to the Crown by *Lewis* XI. *Lewis* XII. fixed the *Parliament* at *Roan*, and ſucceeding Kings have honour'd it with other Favours. The *Normans* however do not forget that they were once a free and independent People, but have ſo vigorouſly inſiſted on their Privileges at all Times, that they have hitherto conſerved moſt of them, particularly that of being governed by their own Laws, and being exempted from a great many Taxes. In other Reſpects the *Normans* are very good Subjects, and as they are an induſtrious trading People furniſh to the Royal Revenue very large Sums. Wine is wanting to this Province, but the Deficiency is tolerably well ſupplied by a great Quantity of good *Cyder*, which is the common Drink of the Natives, and much more than compenſated by the abundance of fine Wheat, which is the Glory of this Country, and which is produced with half the Cultivation neceſſary in our own. The People are ſtrong, hardy, and induſtrious, fairer, and more freſh-colour'd than in other Parts of *France*, and leſs ſubject to the Gout and Stone, than the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces which abound in Vineyards, and are conſequently well ſtored with Wine. Their great Vice is Litigiouſneſs; and in Truth they need not have a worſe, ſince it is the Parent of Fraud, Malice, and ill Neighbourhood.

DURING the Stay I made at *Paris*, I lodg'd at the Houſe of Mr. *D'Aulnoy*; he was himſelf a Man of good Senſe, great Worth, and much Learning; his Lady the moſt agreeable Woman in the World, and held to write the beſt Stile in *France* of any of her Sex, after Madam *de Scudery*. I remain'd at this Gentleman's Houſe but three Weeks, and in that ſmall Space I was ſenſible that I improv'd my ſelf very much in the *French* Language. At my ſetting out for *Italy* I carry'd with me a hundred Piſtoles and Bills for three hundred more on Mr. *Hobſon* at *Venice*. The ſame Sum I depoſited in the Hands of a Banker at *Paris*, having alſo ſome Money in the Hands of M. *de St. Dennis* at *Roan*. My Deſign was firſt to viſit the principal Places in *Italy*, and then to return into *France*, that from thence, if the Times in reſpect to my Affairs were mended, I might paſs over into *England*.

WE left *Paris* in the Month of *March*, in order to go to *Nevers*. The Count, and two other Gentlemen, were in one Coach, his Secretary M. *de St. Florentin*, my ſelf and two others of his Attendants in a ſecond Coach, and he had *nine* Domeſticks beſides. We were *eleven* Days complete in reaching *Nevers*, which is accounted *fifty eight Leagues* from *Paris*. We reſted there *three* Days by reaſon of the Count's uſing ſome Waters in its Neighbourhood, which gave me an Opportunity of viewing the Place.

IT is an ancient and no very large City, though a Biſhoprick, and the Capital of a Dutchy, and of the Territory call'd *Nivernois*. The *Ducal* Palace is a very fine Structure, and was richly furniſhed, but the moſt remarkable Rarity in it is a curious Marble Table, not very

very large, but finely vein'd, and which is indeed ſurpriſing, perfectly tranſparent, either by Night or Day, for a Lamp being placed behind, may be diſtinctly ſeen through it. *Nevers* is likewiſe adorned with an ancient Cathedral dedicated to St. *Cyr*. There is alſo a Bridge over the *Loire*, which is very remarkable, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty Arches. *Nevers* was a County or Earldom under the firſt *French* Kings, was firſt erected into a Dutchy by *Charles* VII. It paſſed afterwards into various noble Families, 'till at length it deſcended to the Houſe of *Gonzaga*, from whom a little while ago the Cardinal Miniſter acquir'd it not with much Reputation, and hath procur'd it to be erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom in favour of his Nephew *Philip Mancini Mazarine*, a young Man who continues as yet unmarried.

FROM *Nevers* we proceeded in five Days to *Lyons*, which lies at the Diſtance of *forty-five* Leagues. This is beyond Compariſon the pleaſanteſt City in *France*, perhaps I ſhould not err if I ſaid in *Europe*. It differs from all the Places I ever beheld, inaſmuch as it is agreeable to every Taſte, having within its Walls all Things that can delight the Eye, or pleaſe the Imagination. Part of the City ſtands high, Part low. You may live on the Side of a River, or out of Sight of Water. Some of its Streets have all the Hurry of Buſineſs, others have magnificent Houſes, and at very reaſonable Prices, ſo ſituated as to have the Air of a magnificent Metropolis. And in the Skirts of this agreeable Place you may enjoy a rural Habitation, ſurrounded with Fields, Gardens, Vineyards, and yet at no great Diſtance from the Heart of the City; ſurrounded as it is with Hills, it is continually warm, and as thoſe Hills are extremely well

cultivated, they afford the fineſt Proſpect that can be imagined.

THE *Saone* paſſes through the City; the *Rhoſne* waſhes its Walls; the Stone Bridge over the former conſiſts of nine Arches, and is remarkable for the Cruelty exerciſed thereon by *Caligula*, who cauſed all ſuch as diſputed before him and did not prevail, to be thrown from thence into the River and drowned, as *Juvenal* informs us. The Bridge over the *Rhoſne* is by far more remarkable; indeed there are few which can be compared with it, conſidering the Breadth and Rapidity of the River. It conſiſts of twenty-ſix Arches, nineteen large, and ſeven ſmall ones. The Beauty and Pleaſantneſs of *Lyons*, though they are certainly very great, are not however its principal Advantages. Its Commodiouſneſs for Trade deſerves particular Attention. The *Rhoſne* affords an eaſy Paſſage to the Sea, and conſequently opens a Gate to the *Mediterranean* Commerce, to that of *Africk* and the *Levant*. Twelve Leagues of Land-Carriage ſends all Sorts of Merchandize to the *Loire*, whereby a Communication is acquired, not only with the moſt diſtant Provinces of *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, but alſo with *Britain* and the North. From *Montangis* Boats go through a little River into the *Seine*, and ſo to *Paris*. By this means *Lyons* is the Centre of a prodigious Trade, continually filled with Foreigners, and inhabited by abundance of Artificers, and Mechanicks of all Sorts. They have here *four* free *Fairs* every Year, one, which may be called the firſt, at *Twelfth-tide*, the ſecond at *Eaſter*, the third in *Auguſt*, and the laſt on the Day dedicated to the Memory of *All-Saints*. One principal Commodity at theſe Fairs is *Books*, the Number

Number of which, without ſeeing them, it is impoſſible to have any Conception of.

THE Privileges beſtow'd on this City for the maintaining and encreaſing theſe Advantages are great; and which is yet of more Conſequence, well adapted. The Buſineſs of Exchange is wholly in the Hands of the *Florentines*, who are perfectly well ſkill'd in that myſterious Branch of Traffick. The *Germans* have great Immunities, particularly this, that no Cauſes in which they are Parties can be drawn out of their own Courts, whether their Nature be civil or criminal. The Government of *Lyons* is by a *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and four *Eſchevins*, the latter choſen annually, the firſt once in two Years: When the *Eſchevins* go out of Office, they are ennobled of courſe. All Cauſes are decided here very ſpeedily, and at a ſmall Expence, which is done in favour of Trade, and hath a mighty good Effect. The Town-houſe is a very elegant Fabrick, having before it a large ſquare Piazza with a noble Fountain; here all the City Courts are kept, and the publick Buſineſs tranſacted.

THE Cathedral, dedicated to St. *John*, is a large venerable Pile, remarkable chiefly for its Clock, placed in a ſtately Tower, on the Top of which ſtands a Cock, which every Hour claps his Wings and crows twice; then an Angel comes out at a Door, which opens of it ſelf, and ſalutes the Virgin *Mary*; at the ſame Time the Holy Ghoſt appears in the Form of a Dove; then a Figure, repreſenting the Eternal Father, bleſſes her three Times. The Days of the Week are repreſented by ſeven Figures, each of which takes place in a Niche in the Morning of the Day it repreſents, and continues

there 'till the next Morning. But the greateſt Singularity was newly put up, *viz.* an oval Plate marked with the Minutes of an Hour, which were exactly pointed to by a Hand reaching the Circumference, and which in its Revolution inſenſibly dilates and contracts it ſelf; the Difference of the Tranſverſe, and conjugate Diameters being *ten* Inches, half of which conſequently is the greateſt Extenſion of this Hand.

It appears by an Inſcription on the Clock it ſelf, that it was repaired and improved by *William Nouriſon*, *Anno Dom.* 1661. but it was contrived long before his Time by *Nicholas Lipp*, a Native of *Baſil.* The Report goes, that the Magiſtrates of *Lyons*, after he had finiſhed this curious Machine, cauſed his Eyes to be put out, that he might never be able to perform the like; but this is an abſolute Falſhood, invented by the Mob to magnify their Clock. As to *Lipp*, the Magiſtrates engaged him to fix at *Lyons*, by allowing him a very conſiderable *Salary* to look after his own Machine, which he is ſaid to have perfected at the Age of *Thirty*, or of *Thirty-two*, and in the Year 1598.

M. *SERVIER*, who invented the Minute-Motion, I have deſcribed lived at this Time in great Reputation at *Lyons*. He was in his younger Years an *Officer* in the Army, but all of a ſudden quitted the Life of a Soldier and came to *Lyons*, where he gave himſelf up wholly to the Study of the Mechanicks. The common People believed him a ſecond *Solomon*, and Perſons of the beſt Senſe admitted he had wonderful Abilities. As I was ſtill a very young Man, I had not the Confidence to apply to him for a Sight of his Curioſities, becauſe I heard he was an odd-temper'd Man, and not over-complaiſant to Foreigners, unleſs they were Perſons of very great Diſtinction.

I TOOK Care however to find out a Perſon who had formerly liv'd with him, and who gave me an exact Detail of all his Rarities, the moſt remarkable of which were theſe, 1. A flat Ruler lying on a Plane like one of our Cribbidge Boards, mark'd with Hours, half Hours, and Quarters. The Hour of the Day or Night diſtinguiſhed thereon by the Paw of a Mouſe creeping forward, and returning backwards of its ſelf. 2. A perpendicular Ruler mark'd in the ſame manner, the Time pointed out by a Lizard, aſcending and deſcending. 3. A brazen Veſſel with the Hours on the Sides, this being fill'd with Water, an artificial Tortoiſe is put into it by any Spectator, which after turning ſeveral Times, points the exact Time of the Day. 4. Two Dials at a Diſtance from each other, yet the Hand of one being moved to any Hour, the Hand of the other was inſtantly moved to the ſame Hour of itſelf. 5. A perpetual Hour Glaſs, which not only turns itſelf, but alſo changes in turning a braſs Figure on its Top, ſhewing the Hour of the Day or Night. Moſt of theſe extraordinary Machines are thought to depend chiefly upon *Magnets* or *Load-ſtones*, properly diſpoſed. I ſhould not have mentioned them if I had not been perſuaded, as well of the Poſſibility of ſuch Performances, as of the Veracity of him who inform'd me.

AFTER eight Days Stay at *Lyons*, we ſet out for *Geneva*, where we arriv'd in three Days, having paſſed through a very indifferent Country, and ſeen in that Space the Territories of three independant States excluſive of *France*, *viz.* of the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Canton* of *Berne*, and Republick of *Geneva*.

On my Arrival at *Geneva*, I met with Letters from Mr. *Fetherſtone*, Mr. St. *Dennis*, and my Uncle, all adviſing me to ſtay for ſome Time in that City, which of my ſelf I was inclined to do, in Order to learn the *Italian* Language, to revive my Acquaintance with ancient Authors, and to acquire ſome Knowledge of the Mathematics. It was no difficult Matter to ſettle here to my Contentment, the Inhabitants of *Geneva*, having a great Regard for the *Engliſh*, on Account of their conſtant Correſpondence with them ſince the Retreat of the Exiles thither, in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*. Beſides Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction, having reſided there lately, and my Letters being addreſſed to one of their Friends, I was preſently ſettled in a Lodging, boarded in the ſame Houſe, and recommended to the Profeſſors of the ſeveral Sciences I intended to ſtudy, during my Stay there.

At this Time the War broke out between *England* and *Holland*, uſually call'd the firſt *Dutch* War. It appeared plainly enough, that the *Geneveſe* were more addicted to the *Dutch*, than to *us*, which I conceive to be owning to two Cauſes, their being under a Republican Government, and the *Dutch* having always ſhewn a warm Affection for the People of *Geneva*, eſpecially teſtified by a new Baſtion towards the *Rhoſne*, the whole Expence of which was defray'd by the *States*.

The City of *Geneva* is as pleaſantly ſituated as its Inhabitants can wiſh, ſurrounded by Mountains, which defend it from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* Winds, and by which as they have many openings on the *North* and *South*, the Inhabitants are prevented from being incommoded with a thick and moiſt Air. It is divided into two Parts

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by the *Rhoſne*, that Portion which is on the other Side the River, is call'd the *Burgh* of St. *Gervaſe*. There is a fine Bridge over the River; and on the Sides thereof, the moſt wholeſome, as well as moſt agreeable Walks. The common Opinion is, that there is in this City between thirty and forty Thouſand Inhabitants, and conſequently about ſix Thouſand capable of bearing Arms; but thoſe who have examined Things more cloſely, think there are not quite ſo many. In Point of Extent, it is not held to be above a third Part as large as the City of *Lyons*.

THERE is no Place in the World better ſerved with Proviſions than this; they have good Wine, and cheap, excellent wild Fowl, and incomparable Fiſh; particularly *Trout*, which many believe to be better, and larger, than are to be had in any other Part of *Europe*; whereas ſome affirm, there are larger in *Germany*: Certain it is, that the *Trouts* of *Geneva* weigh ſometimes fifty Pounds, which are taken out of a kind of Weirs, placed in the River. The chief Church is that of St. *Peter's*, remarkable for two very large Bells, the largeſt requiring ten Men to Toll it; in the Steeple of this Church there is a Watch ſet every Night, who in Caſe of any Danger, alarm the Citizens, either by ringing a Bell, or diſcharging a Piece of Cannon, two ſmall ones being placed on the Steeple for that Purpoſe. At each Gate of the City there is a Guard, and when it is ſet at Night, one of the Soldiers ſays Prayers. Beſides theſe Guards, which are compoſed of the Garriſon Troops, there are ſeveral Guards in the City of *Burghers*, neither are ſuch Precautions taken without good Reaſon, ſince they are in the midſt of Enemies; and

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ſo lately as 1602, in the Night of the 12th of *December*, the Duke of *Savoy* attempted to take the Place by Scalade, which he had infallibly done, if the *Savoyard*, who was to have fired the *Petard*, had not been kill'd in attempting to perform it. In the *Arſenal* they have Arms in conſtant readineſs, for about five Thouſand Men, with eight Pieces of Cannon, and all neceſſary Ammunition. The ſcaling Ladders taken from the Duke of *Savoy*'s Soldiers, with other Trophies of their Succeſs on that Occaſion, particularly the Arms of thirteen Men of Quality, who were taken and hanged, together with the *Petard* before-mention'd, yet undiſcharged, are ſhewn in the ſame Place.

THE eſtabliſhed Religion of the State is *Calviniſm*. The publick Worſhip in their Churches is very decent and regular; the Miniſters pray either according to their own manner, or according to a certain Form which has been approv'd, tho' not impoſed. In their Prayers they always mention the *French* King, the King of *England*, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne*, the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States*. Every Day in the Week there is a Sermon at Seven in the Morning, except *Thurſdays* and *Sundays*, when there are two, one at five, and the other at eight. The Miniſters are very zealous, and ſometimes inveigh bitterly againſt the Corruptions of the Age in which they live. Amongſt theſe they reckon Muſick, Dancing, Shooting, and other Recreations, to which the young People conſtantly repair every *Sunday* in the Afternoon; but it does not appear, that they have as great an Influence in this as in other Things; for tho' the Miniſters have long preached, yet the

the People continue to Dance in Spight of all that can be ſaid to them.

Foreigners have Monuments erected for them in the Churches of *Geneva*; amongſt others, in the Church of St. *Peter*, there is one for *Henry* II. Duke of *Rohan*, which is very magnificent. In an old Cloiſter hard by, there is the Tomb of M. *de Aubigny*, of Sir *Roger Townſhend*, who died in 1647, and Sir *William Maſſham*, Bart. who died A. D. 1662. But as for the *Geneveſe* themſelves, they have no Monuments. The Grave of the great *Calvin*, having nothing to diſtinguiſh it from that of another Man. If any *Italian* Family embraces the Proteſtant Religion, they are readily received, and willingly accepted as Citizens of *Geneva*; nay, there are ſome of their Paſtors who have been *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, of whom it is obſerved, that they are remarkably zealous in their Sermons, and ſpeak with greater Vehemence againſt the Corruptions of the Romiſh Church, than any of their Brethren.

The Clergy here are far from having as large Salaries as in other Places, and yet they labour almoſt beyond Meaſure; beſides daily Sermons, and Catechizings, other publick Exerciſes are expected from them, and if a Man hath not a real Call, and conſequently an unfeigned Affection to the Miniſtry, he muſt under this Character live but unhappily in *Geneva*, where not only the leaſt Irregularity, but even a Suſpicion of Lukewarmneſs, or Uneaſineſs, would infallibly deſtroy him.

My Stay at *Geneva*, tho' it wanted but little of Ten whole Years, was perfectly eaſy and pleaſant to me. At firſt the extraordinary Gravity of the People gave me ſome Diſquiet; but by Degrees I began to conſider

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it in quite another Light, and to perceive that what ſeemed an unneceſſary and burthenſom Auſterity, was in Truth no more than the Effect of a ſerious Diſpoſition, and a juſt Senſe of the Duty incumbent on us in this Life, to act prudently and juſtly. This compoſedneſs of Mind is only to be underſtood of the learned and better Sort of People, of whom, comparatively ſpeaking, there are more here than in moſt other Cities; for as to the Commonalty, they differ little from thoſe in *Savoy* or *France*. The generality of the *Geneveſe* uſe in common Converſation the *Savoyard* Dialect, but all Perſons of Diſtinction ſpeak good *French*. Among the *Italian* Families that Language is ſpoken; and there are many of theſe ſettled in *Geneva*, very conſiderable, on Account of their Antiquity and Fortunes: Such as the *Butini*, the *Cornelli*, *Diodati*, *Minutoli*, *Peliſſari*, &c.

Improved by the wiſe Diſcourſes I daily heard, and encouraged by the Examples continually before my Eyes, I proſecuted my Studies with much Application, and began to form to myſelf a Reſolution of leading a more regular and ſettled Life, than hitherto I had done. The Folly of rambling about the World, to gratify a Deſire of ſeeing new Things, and hearing new Stories, appeared to me at this Time in ſo glaring a Light, that I can ſcarce Account for my relapſing ſo ſuddenly into that Paſſion for Novelty, which I had ſo juſtly diſcarded and diſpiſed. It may be that with Reſpect to his Manners, Man himſelf is a *Cameleon*, and having nothing permanent in his own Nature, eaſily receives from others, that Colour with which Cuſtom hath ſtained them, and as eaſily loſes it when he changes Climate to receive another Tincture from the ſame Cauſe.

In the Month of *Auguſt* 1664, we had an Account at *Geneva* of the Murder of Mr. *Liſle* at *Lauſanne*, it happened thus: That Gentleman had been one of the King's Judges, and even an Aſſiſtant to Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, who was Preſident of the Aſſembly then called the *High Court of Juſtice*. He had withdrawn himſelf from his Countrymen, who lived in the Territory of the *Canton* of *Berne*, to the Place where he was murdered, on a Suppoſition, that thoſe Aſſaſſins which had for ſome Time hovered on the Confines of *Switzerland*, were employed to diſpatch General *Ludlow*, not having any Apprehenſion that his own Death was ſought; tho' no Man had been either deeper in the Meaſures againſt the King, or had expreſſed himſelf with greater Warmth againſt the *Royal Family*.

The *Wedneſday* preceding the *Sunday* on which he was kill'd, two Men pretending to be the Grooms of a *German* Officer of Diſtinction, came to the Town where General *Ludlow*, Mr. *Broughton*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* reſided; but the Regency of *Berne* being entirely in their Intereſt, the Aſſaſſins thought fit to decamp, and to make the beſt of their Way to *Lauſanne*. There they waited for an Opportunity of deſtroying Mr. *Liſle*, which they effected thus: They were informed that it was this Gentleman's Cuſtom to go to the Church which ſtood near the Town Gate; one of the Aſſaſſins thereupon, fixed himſelf early at the Church Gate, and having waited 'till all the People were gone in, he mutter'd to himſelf, *Le Bougre ne viendras pas, the Raſcal don't come*. He then went to a Barber's, pretending to have the Tooth-ach, but turning his Head towards the Window, he ſaw Mr. *Liſle* had paſſed him,

him, and was in the Church-yard alone; upon which he ran after him, pull'd out his Carbine, which was ſlung under his great Coat, and being cloſe to the unhappy Victim, ſhot him through the Back; the Piece recoiling he fell down himſelf, but getting up haſtily, pull'd off his Hat, and ſwinging it round his Head cry'd, *God ſave the King*.

He left his Gun behind him, and made the beſt of his Way to his Companion, who waited hard by on Horſeback, with another Horſe ready bridled and ſaddled in his Hand. On this the Aſſaſſin mounted, and they both rode off without Moleſtation. It was reported that the Government of *Lauſanne* were not very induſtrious in their Endeavours to ſeize theſe Murderers; but whoever is acquainted with *Switzerland*, muſt know that before the *Regency* could be well appriz'd of the Fact, Men ſo well mounted might be out of Reach, and it is certain, that not contented with having kill'd Mr. *Liſle*, they actually inſulted and abuſed the *Regency* of *Lauſanne*, as they rode through the Country.

It was commonly reported, that theſe Men were commiſſioned from the *Engliſh* Court, to go and take off its Enemies in all Parts of the World, that in conſequence of this Commiſſion, one of them had actually murder'd, or at leaſt deſperately wounded one Mr. *Ker* in *Holland*, who had betray'd ſome of the King's Secrets, and had attempted to ſhoot Col. *Algernoon Sydney*, on the Road to *Paris*. But People of moderate Sentiments, conceived that they were encouraged only by Queen *Henrietta Maria*, and her Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*. This was the rather believ'd, becauſe it was certainly known, that the very Man who kill'd Mr. *Liſle* on his Return to *England* was forbid the Court,

Court, and died ſhortly after through Want and Deſpair.

THE other was advanced to a military Command, but it was in the *French* Service, and had Money given him, but not by the *Engliſh* Court. For this Cauſe the *Engliſh* Gentlemen who were Refugees in *Switzerland*, ſpoke with ſome Degree of Triumph, when in a ſhort Space after the *Queen* died oddly at *Paris*, that is, by a Preſcription of one of her Phyſicians. It was ſaid ſhe had a Cold, and that a gentle opiat was ordered her, but either the Drug or the Doſe was miſtaken, for ſhe never awaken'd after taking it. The Wits at *Paris* did not fail to give their Sentiments on ſo extraordinary an Accident. Amongſt the ſeveral Pieces written upon this Occaſion the following Verſes were held to be by far the moſt poignant; and as they are exactly to my Subject, I have tranſcribed them.

Le croirez-vous race future;
Que la Fille du grand Henry
Eut en mourant meme avanture
Que feu ſon Pere et ſon Mary?
Tous trois ſont morts par aſſaſſin,
Ravaillac, Cromvel, Medecin:
Henry d'un coup de Bayonette,
Charles finit ſur un Billot,
Et maintenant meurt Henriette
Par l'Ignorance de Valot.

The coming Age will it believe,
Great *Henry*'s Daughter could receive
Her End, in the ſame fatal Way,
Her Sire, and Spouſe, did Death obey?

Will not its utmoſt Faith be try'd,
When it is told they all *three* dy'd,
By baſe *Aſſaſſins?* —— *Ravaillac*,
The cruel *Cromwell*, and a Quack.
Fatal to mighty *Henry*'s Life,
The bloody Villain's treach'rous *Knife*.
Charles on a Block reſign'd his Breath,
* *Valot* to *Henriet* gave Death.

BUT to paſs from theſe melancholy Subjects, and to return to my own Affairs, and the natural Order of time, which tho' diſtant ſome few Years, I have, for the Sake of Perſpicuity, brought all together.

WHILE I remain'd in this City I frequently ſpent my Evenings with Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, the former a vehement Commonwealth's Man, the latter ſtrictly attached to the Royal Cauſe, but Men who loved each other; and though they generally differ'd in their Opinions, yet never grew angry, or tranſgreſſed in their Expreſſions the Bounds of Decency. I ſhall mention one of their Converſations for the Sake of a Fact not generally known. Mr. *Say* would frequently maintain that the War made by King *Charles* againſt the *Dutch* was ungrateful, becauſe of the Aſſiſtance he had received, and the Kindneſs that had been ſhewn him from the *States*. He urged alſo, that it had been carried on unfairly on account of ſome ſecret Correſpondence which his Majeſty had kept up with Admiral *Trump*; and ſeveral other eminent Perſons in the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which had been diſcover'd by a Spy putting into the Hand of the *Penſioner de Witt*, a Letter from

* *The Name of the Queen's Phyſician.*

one

one of the King's *Miniſters* inſtead of a Petition from himſelf, for which Miſtake he paid with his Life, and Admiral *Trump*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, were removed from their Places.

Mr. *Melville* obſerved that this War was entirely owing to the *Dutch* themſelves; that in the War they carried on againſt the *Commonwealth* of *England*, they fought their own Cauſe, not the King's; that the Letter which occaſion'd the Death of *Buat*, concerned ſolely the Intereſt of the *Prince* of *Orange*, whoſe Advantage, the King was bound in Honour, Duty, and Intereſt, to promote. On the other hand, he alledged that the *Dutch* had encourag'd all that in them lay the Malecontents in *England*, to take up Arms, had actually concerted Meaſures for ſupporting a Rebellion in *England*, by an Invaſion, and to that End had ſtrongly ſolicited Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, and others, to come into *Holland*, in order to paſs into *England* with a great Body of Foot.

Mr. *Say* reply'd, that the Rules of War permitted all this, and that his Moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* had as ſtrongly ſolicited General *Ludlow*, as the *States*, and even ſent him a Paſſport that he might come ſafe to *Paris*. For my Part, theſe Facts made it clear to me, that *Princes* and *States* prefer their preſent Intereſts to all Things. In my Paſſage through *France* I had ſeen *Oliver St. John*, who had been Lord Chief *Juſtice* of the *Common Pleas* in the Time of the *Commonwealth*, and of *Cromwell*, treated with great Reſpect, though under the Name of Mr. *Mountague*, while meaner People durſt not ſhew their Heads, leaſt the *Engliſh* Miniſter ſhould demand them; in which Caſe they

would certainly have been delivered up. I have already taken Notice of the Terror that Cardinal *de Mazarin* was under with Reſpect to *Cromwell*. It ſeems from the following Inſtance, that either that, or a high Veneration for him, remained not only with the Cardinal, but his Succeſſors in the Miniſtry after *Cromwell*'s Death.

DURING his Protectorſhip, there happen'd a great Tumult at *Niſmes*; the Papiſts had attempted to take from the Proteſtants the Right of choſing *Magiſtrates*, which the latter, rather than ſubmit to, oppoſed Force to Force, and actually drove the Papiſts out of the City, not without the Effuſion of Blood. Upon this the *Cardinal Miniſter* cauſed great Bodies of Troops to march on all Sides towards the City. The Inhabitants perceiving that it would be impoſſible to defend the Place, began to conſult about their own Safety. At length they reſolved to ſend Dr. *Mullins*, a Scotchman, to the *Protector*, to intreat his Interpoſition.

OLIVER immediately gave Directions to his Secretary to write in the moſt preſſing Terms on their Behalf to the *Cardinal*, and ſent this Letter, with a Poſtſcript, in his own Hand, which he added, to ſhew that he was really concern'd as to the Iſſue of the Buſineſs, by Dr. *Mullins*. The Doctor, like a faithful Agent, ſcarce took Reſt or Refreſhment 'till he came to *Lockart*, who was *Cromwell*'s Miniſter at the Court of *France*. *Lockart* inſtantly carried him and the Letters he brought to the Cardinal, who on opening the Epiſtle addreſs'd to himſelf, found the Poſtſcript in theſe Words: *As you treat theſe Proteſtants, you have me a Friend, or an Enemy*. Upon which the Cardinal diſpatched Orders for the Troops which were marching towards *Niſmes* to halt;

halt, and conſented that the Affair ſhould be amicably made up.

IT happened that this Dr. *Mullins* was in *France* while I was at *Geneva*, and the Miniſtry being apprehenſive that if he returned into *England*, he might give a very diſadvantagious Account of the State of Affairs in *Languedoc*, where the Proteſtants were generally diſaffected, they clapp'd him up in the *Baſtile*. A ſhort Time after they offer'd him his Liberty upon Security given that he would not leave *France*, which he alledg'd was utterly out of his Power. At length they diſcharg'd him without any Security, only they order'd him to quit the Kingdom in a Fortnight. Mr. *Melville* was well acquainted with this Gentleman and his Tranſactions: He was, it ſeems, a Man of great Intrepidity, and conſequently a fit Engine for *Cromwell*.

FROM theſe Gentlemen Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, I had it confirmed to me, what Mr. *Fetherſtone* had often told me, that the *Protector* had the Confidence of the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, no leſs than that of the *French Hugonots*. He perſuaded theſe People, I mean the *Engliſh Roman Catholicks*, that only under his Government they could be ſafe; that if the *Commonwealth* was reſtored, they would be expoſed to perpetual Harraſſments, if not to a general Baniſhment, and Confiſcation of their Eſtates. As for his Part, he declared he hated no Man on the Score of his Religious Principles, but on the contrary, would defend all who lived quietly and peaceably under him.

HE afterwards made Choice of one Sir *Robert Talbot* for his Agent, a moderate *Papiſt*, a Man who loved Peace and Quiet, and who thought it became People to

submit to the Powers in Being. This Man accepted a Commission to go to the Court of *Rome*, whither accordingly he went, and by the Help of *Donna Olimpia*, insinuated himself into the good Graces of his Holiness, whom he informed that *Cromwell* was quite another Man than he had been represented; that he was far from designing to oppress, or hurt the *Catholicks*; that he had no violent Aversion to the *Popish Religion*; and that he was so far from having any Intention, as had been reported, to attack the *Pope*, by sending a Fleet on his Coasts; that he was desirous of living upon good Terms with his *Holiness*, and of doing him good Offices in all the Courts of *Christendom*.

At Home he engaged Sir *Richard Willis*, to give him exact Intelligence of all that passed in the Council settled by the King, consisting of the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Mordaunt*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and *nine* or *ten* more, on a Promise that their Lives and Fortunes should remain untouched, which was however not over-well complied with. Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewet*, who were of that Number, being executed in consequence of certain Distinctions which the *Protector* knew very well how to make, especially, considering that Sir *Richard* could not so much as expostulate with him. Such were the Arts of this Man, who from a private Condition, advanced himself to the Sovereignty in his own Country, and made himself as much considered throughout all the rest of *Europe*, as any other Sovereign in it.

When a little Relaxation from Study was necessary, and the fine Weather invited, I used to make Excursions either into *Savoy*, or into the Territories of the neighbouring

bouring Cantons, eſpecially thoſe of *Berne* and *Zurich*. In the former a very exemplary Piece of Juſtice was done on one *Dupré*, a *Savoyard*, who had attempted more than once to murder General *Ludlow*, and Mr. *Broughton* at *Vevais*, as ſome of his Companions had done Mr. *Liſle* at *Lauſanne*. This Man was deſcended of a good Family, and had received a liberal Education; he had ſerved as a Soldier with ſome Reputation, but was moſt abandoned in his Morals, diſſolute in his Diſpoſition, void of all Principles, without Pretence to Religion, a Gameſter, Drunkard, and Bully.

One of his firſt Exploits was carrying off a young Woman who was Heireſs of ſome Lands in the Territory of *Berne*, whom he married by Force. He next engaged himſelf with thoſe People who came from *France* to deſtroy the *Regicides* in *Switzerland*, from whom he received conſiderable Sums of Moneÿ on Account of his exact Knowledge of the Country, and his great Adroitneſs in extricating himſelf and his Companions, when it appeared that their Expeditions had miſcarried.

His Siſter had married a Gentleman of Worth and Fortune, who more than once had ſaved him from Baniſhment or Impriſonment, which by a Variety of Crimes he had deſerved. However, becauſe this Gentleman had once refuſed to lend him a Sum of Money, on Account of his having ſome Idea of the Uſe he intended it for, *Dupré* reſolved to be revenged on him, which he effected thus.

He perſwaded a Gentlewoman, with whom he was very familiar, to invite his Brother-in-law to her Houſe, where he met him, begg'd his Pardon for what had paſs'd, and having engaged him to drink a Bottle with

him, he of a ſudden pick'd a Quarrel, and having given his Brother ſuch abuſive Language as was not to be born, that Gentleman roſe up haſtily in order to go away. *Dupré*, who watched for this Opportunity, ſtruck him under the Right Pap with a Dagger, and as he turn'd to defend himſelf, ſhot him into the Left Breaſt with a Piſtol. Having perpetrated this horrid Murder, he cauſed ſome of his Dependents to take the Body in the Dead of the Night, and carry it a conſiderable Space; he then directed it to be laid down, and himſelf and his People quarrelling over it in a high Tone, he at length diſcharged a Piſtol, and left it and the Dagger by the dead Corpſe; hoping that from theſe Circumſtances it would be thought he was kill'd in a Fray at the Place where he was found.

His Artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that at firſt he was not at all ſuſpected, nor is it probable that the Truth had ever come out, if he had not brought it about by refining upon his former Scheme; for after ſettling the Deceaſed's Affairs, and ſpeaking upon all Occaſions with the utmoſt Horror of his Aſſaſſination, he at length proceeded to offer a great Reward for diſcovering the Murderers.

This put many People upon enquiring into the Circumſtances of the Fact, and at laſt he was cited to appear at *Chamberry*, to anſwer an Accuſation preferr'd againſt him upon this Head. His Courage fail'd him here, for inſtead of going to *Chamberry*, he withdrew out of the Dominions of *Savoy*, and retir'd to *Fribourg*. The Proceſs hereupon was quickly finiſh'd, his Eſtate confiſcated, and himſelf condemned to be broke upon the Wheel.

At *Fribourg*, being exceedingly diſtreſſed for Money, he enter'd into new Schemes with ſome deſperate Perſons reſiding in *Burgundy*; in going to a Meeting which they had appointed, he was apprehended by a Party of Horſe, ſent for that Purpoſe from *Berne*, whither he was ſhortly after conducted, and where a Proceſs being commenced againſt him for the Rape of his Wife, he was condemned to loſe his Head. He little regarded this Sentence at firſt, believing, that as his Family was in good Circumſtances, it would be bought off, but when he found that this was not to be done, but that die he muſt, he loſt all Patience, Prudence, and even common Senſe.

He uttered bitter Execrations againſt the Lords of *Berne*; he refuſed to liſten to the Miniſters who came to pray with him; he would not go to the Place of Execution, but was dragged thither like a Dog. When he was on the Scaffold, he ſtamp'd and beat his Breaſt like a Madman, 'till at length his Hands being tied between his Legs, and himſelf held down upon his Breech, the Executioner ſtruck off his Head. It was hoped that this Execution would have tamed People of this Stamp for the future, but it did not, many of *Dupré*'s Aſſociates continuing to uſe the ſame Trade, which is but too commonly practiſed in *Italy*.

As to the City of *Berne*, it is not very large, but wonderfully fortified by Nature, being almoſt ſurrounded by the River *Aar*, which at once renders it ſafe and pleaſant. Over this River there is a fine Stone Bridge, and the Country about it is carefully cultivated. *Lauſanne*, which alſo belongs to this *Canton*, is a very conſiderable Place, though very oddly ſituated, occupying the

the Slope of *two* Hills and the Valley between them: The reſt of the Territory of *Berne* is full of large Burghs and populous Villages, in the Neighbourhood of which there is great Abundance of Corn, as well as of good Wine; Liberty and Induſtry being the grand Characteriſticks of the Inhabitants of this, and of the reſt of the Proteſtant *Cantons*.

ZURICH is the moſt conſiderable Place in *Switzerland*, and therefore deſerves to be the more exactly deſcribed. It ſtands at the Bottom of the great Lake which divides it in two, Part lying on one Side, and Part on the other. Both joined together by three Bridges, one of them ſo large as to admit of an Herb-Market upon it; there are abundance of Goldſmiths, Paper-Makers, Dealers in Cloth, Makers of Wicker-Ware, *&c.* in this Place, where Young and Old work hard for their Livings, and where Idleneſs is not only puniſhed with Infamy, but with Impriſonment: Peace and Plenty always abound. The City is well fortified, and every Citizen is at Liberty to wear a Sword.

HERE are two Councils, a Council of *fifty*, and a greater Council of *two hundred*. It is impoſſible for People to live with greater Unity amongſt themſelves, or with more Decorum than the Inhabitants of *Zurich* do, either in temporal, or ſpiritual Concerns. In their Churches a Pſalm is firſt ſung, then the Miniſter prays, being habited in a Gown with a Cap upon his Head, which however he puts off while he prays; then he gives out the Text, preaches a full Hour, then makes a concluding Prayer, after which another Pſalm is ſung, and ſo the Service ends. One Thing is very remarkable, that tho' they are zealous *Calviniſts*, yet they bow very reverently

rently at the Name of *Jeſus*. It is generally believed that *Zurich* is three Times as big as *Geneva*; the Houſes are many of them of Stone, with Portico's before them, and the publick Buildings are remarkably neat, and perfectly well kept in Repair. The neighbouring Country abounds with Corn, Wine, Fruits, *&c.* and the Lake, together with the River *Limagis*, furniſhes it with excellent Fiſh.

As to the *Swiſs* in general, though they are ſomewhat rude in their Manners, yet they are naturally honeſt, open, and ſincere. It is ſaid that their Virtues are liable to Injury from Travelling; for it is obſerved that in Foreign Service, the *Swiſs* are crafty, avaricious, and a little inclin'd to Mutiny; whereas at home they are very patient and ſubmiſſive. It is morally certain, that their Country in the Hands of other Inhabitants would be but a very indifferent Place, whereas by their Induſtry and Frugality, it is made to furniſh not only the Neceſſaries, but the Conveniencies of Life. By Frugality I mean, that Sparingneſs which is obſervable amongſt them in Regard to Clothes and Houſhold Furniture, wherein Uſefulneſs and Cleanlineſs are only expected; for as to Beauty and Magnificence, they are not affected with them, even where it is in their Power. As to their Table it is otherwiſe; they love to eat and drink well and plentifully, eſpecially the latter, which ſometimes they puſh to Exceſs, the Love of Liquor being their greateſt Vice. They are hardy, couragious, extremely capable of military Diſcipline, War being a Trade to which they are all bred.

In the Cities there are generally ſpeaking more Men, than Women, on Account of the Manufactures that are carried

carried on; in the Country again there are more Women than Men; the former are no leſs induſtrious than the latter: They do not ſpare for Pains or Labour in ſuch Buſineſſes as they are able to execute; and as to the Care of their Families, the Women in no Part of the World excell them; for they are very affectionate to their Husbands, and very tender towards their Children, whom they do not ſuffer however to grow up in a Courſe of Idleneſs, but take Care to teach them to do ſomewhat for their Bread, as ſoon as their Strength and Capacities will permit them. What I have ſaid relates to the Proteſtant Cantons only, for as to the Popiſh, I had not Occaſion to viſit them; but I believe the Inhabitants do not differ much in their Manners. As to the Government of this Country, I ſhall ſpeak of it when I come to mention my leaving *Geneva*, having taken ſome Pains to make my ſelf Maſter of the ſeveral Particulars relating thereto.

During the whole Time of my Reſidence at *Geneva*, my Letters came regularly both from *England* and *France*, 'till toward the latter end of the Year 1665, that I heard no more from M. *St. Dennis*. About three Months after, Mr. *Fetherſtone*, whoſe Affairs had call'd him into *Lorain*, returned into *Normandy*, and gave me an Account that our Friend, after firſt ſuffering by a partial Palſey, which took from him the Uſe of one Side, died extremely lamented by all who knew him. He had the Precaution the Day after he was firſt taken ill, to place the little Sum of Money I had left in his Hands, in the Hands of Mr. *Hay*, a Scotch Factor at *Bourdeaux*, who happened to be at *Roan*, and who adviſed me of the Death of M. *de St. Dennis*, and of his having

having *five hundred* Crowns of mine in his Hands, three or four Days after Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Letter came to Hand.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Concern which the News of this old Gentleman's Death gave me: He was a Man of ſingular good Senſe, and of the higheſt Probity; one who had lived long enough in Courts to deteſt them, and who knew perfectly well how to enjoy that Repoſe, with which Providence bleſſed him in his declining Years.

As he had received great Favours from the *Marſhal de Ancre*, while he was the Favourite of the Queen and of Fortune, he ſpoke of him always with much Tenderneſs. He commended his Affability and Sweetneſs of Temper, towards his Friends and Domeſticks; his pleaſant and familiar Manner of converſing with them, and his Readineſs to ſerve them. He obſerved that the *Marſhal* was not miſtaken in Thoſe whom he honoured with his Confidence; for that the Marſhal Duke *de Eſtrees*, the *Marſhal Hocquincourt*, and the *Marſhal de Baſſompiere*, were his firm Friends to the laſt; he had however Vices more than ſufficient to bring upon him the Misfortunes which cruſh'd him in the End: He was a Man of exceſſive Vanity, addicted to the amaſſing of Money by any Means, as alſo to the making an immoderate Diſplay of it. His Ambition had no Bounds, yet he had the Addreſs to conceal it, declining ever to be admitted of the King's Council, and affecting not to enquire into Matters of State, though nothing relating to them was tranſacted without his Knowledge. The King always hated him, and the *Marſhal* was not ignorant of it, but fondly hoped to overcome his Averſion

by his Complacencies, and by his affecting to render him all the perſonal Services in his Power, which however had no Effect.

It hath been much doubted, whether by his Birth he was a Gentleman; and the ſame Thing hath been ſaid of his Wife. The *Italians*, who ought to know beſt, affirm, that they were of mean Parentage; and yet nothing is more certain, than that their Names, *Concini*, and *Galigai*, ſpeak them of noble Families, as appears from all the Hiſtories of *Florence*. To ſolve this Difficulty, it is alledged that the *Marſhal* aſſumed the Name of *Concini*; that the Name of his Wife was really, *Doſi*; and that her Father being a very rich *Miller* when he left off his Trade, procured the Family of *Galigai* to acknowledge him for their Relation, and to permit him to bear their arms.

However, the Stations in which they both appeared in the beginning of their days ſeem to ſpeak theſe ſuggeſtions calumnies. It was by the aſcendency which his Wife had over the Queen her Miſtreſs, that the *Marſhal de Ancre* arrived at ſuch exceſſive Wealth, and at ſo exorbitant a Pitch of Grandeur; and as ſhe was the Foundreſs of his Fortune, ſo if he had taken her Advice, ſhe would have preſerved him, herſelf, and their Family from the Miſchiefs that befel them. They lived in the Midſt of Wealth, Power, and Splendour; not only in perpetual anxiety and uneaſineſs, from the open Teſtimonies of Hatred, which the People beſtowed very liberally upon them; but were alſo, on account of Family Differences, continually quarreling at home.

The grand Dutcheſs of *Tuſcany* had once the Goodneſs to ſend the *Marſhal* a Meſſage to this Purpoſe.

That

That ſince the Winds grew high, and the Waves began to roll, he would do well to think of ſteering into ſome Port. To which the Marſhal anſwered, *That while his Veſſel went before the Wind, he was reſolved to keep out at Sea, and to puſh his good Fortune to its utmoſt Extent.* In this he really ſpoke as he thought, for at other Times, out of an Affectation of Moderation, he would ſpeak of retiring, as a Thing which of all others he ſought moſt, and that he was impeded therein by the Obſtinacy of his Wife; whereas in Truth, ſhe daily ſolicited him thereto.

At laſt many Circumſtances concurring, his Ruin was determined. The King intended by his Deſtruction to make the firſt Eſſay of his Power, and to aſſert what to him appeared the choiceſt Jewel in his Crown, *an abſolute Authority.* His favourite *Luynes* eagerly deſir'd to ſucceed in the *Marſhal*'s Place, and to enrich his Family by the Confiſcation of the Favourite's Effects. *Vitry*, the Captain of the Guards, was the Man made choice of to perform this extraordinary Act, of ſtaining the Royal Palace with Blood, which he readily accepted, in hopes of acquiring thereby a Marſhal's Staff. Without Queſtion, if this Affair had taken Air, the whole Plot would have been defeated, the whole Power being as yet in the Hands of the *Queen*, and her Favourite.

The King, though a young Man, behaved with profound Diſſimulation; the Terror of a Miſcarriage kept *Luynes* perfectly ſilent, but *Vitry* had the Imprudence to acquaint his Miſtreſs with it the Evening before; happy for him that ſhe had leſs of female Loquacity, than he of manly Prudence, otherwiſe this Scheme had

ver taken Place, as it did on the 24th of *April* 1617, when *Vitry* ſtabb'd the *Marſhal* in the *Louvre*. This extraordinary Step was immediately followed by others, the Queen was removed and confined; the *Marſhal*'s Wife ſent Priſoner to the *Baſtile*, and ſo totally deſerted that ſhe had not ſo much as Change of Linnen there, 'till ſhe procured from ſome of the Keepers, a couple of ready-made Shifts, which coſt a Crown. She behaved however with great Courage and Intrepidity; and when ſhe was brought before her Judges to anſwer a long Charge, conſiſting of Variety of Crimes, at the Head of which were *Sorcery* and *Magick*, on a Suppoſition that ſhe had bewitched the Queen; ſhe could not help crying out, *Alas! what* Witchcraft! *I governed her by the Superiority of my Genius. What Miracle was it that a Woman of Wit, ſhould influence* one *who had* none?

HOWEVER, ſhe was condemned to loſe her Head at the *Place de Grave*, and her Body to be afterwards burnt, which was executed; and all the Eſtates which ſhe and her Husband had poſſeſſed were confiſcated, amounting, as ſome ſay, to *half a Million* Sterling. The only Son of the *Marſhal d'Ancre* continued for ſome Years a Priſoner, but being at length diſcharged, retired to *Florence*, where he poſſeſſed Eſtates of the Value of *twenty thouſand* Crowns a Year, 'till the Plague carried him off in the Prime of his Age. It is pretended that the *Marſhal d'Ancre* ſought to make himſelf a ſovereign Prince. *Firſt*, by Purchaſe from the *Pope* of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and afterwards by ſeeking to get the County of *Montbeliard* erected into an independent Principality; however, both his Deſigns miſcarried.

It

It is ſaid that when the *Marſhal* was one Day preſſing the Queen earneſtly upon theſe Points, and her Majeſty ſeemed inclin'd to comply with his Requeſts, the *Marſhal*'s Wife could not refrain from ſaying; *Madam, you approve too eaſily whatever Projects this Fool forms, and in the End his Vanity and Self-Conceit will ruin us all.* This Sentence doth not want Spirit, Senſe, and Loyalty, but at the ſame Time it is a full Proof of that Contempt of her Husband which muſt have made her a very bad Wife. A complaiſant Diſpoſition attones for many Faults; but I confeſs I know not what Virtues can compenſate for the Want of ſuch a Diſpoſition.

My long Reſidence at *Geneva* had, as I have obſerved, a great Influence on my Temper and Manner of living; I was no longer poſſeſſed with a Spirit of Rambling, but on the contrary followed my Studies cloſe, conformed my ſelf to the Manners of the People among whom I lived, and took a great deal of Pleaſure in making my ſelf acquainted with the Manufactures carried on there. It ſo happened that one Mr. *Roland*, a Jeweller, or rather a Lapidary, lodged at the next Door; he was a Man very well skill'd in his Buſineſs, and had ſpent the Prime of his Years in the *Levant*. With this Man I frequently converſed, and as he was very frank and communicative, I learned from him abundance of Things relating to his Trade. It ſo fell out, that by reaſon of ſome Diſappointments he was greatly ſtraitned, and his Credit in the utmoſt Danger. Out of this Difficulty I extricated him, and thence forward he ſcarce kept any of his Secrets from me.

His principal Art lay in tinging Cryſtals after they were cut, and in forming *factitious* Stones which in their Appearance fell very little ſhort of thoſe eſteemed precious, eſpecially of the *Opaque* kind. Though I had not the leaſt Idea of profiting by theſe Lights, yet I often amuſed my ſelf with Experiments in this Way, and as I ſpared neither Labour nor Coſt, by degrees I ſucceeded as well as my Maſter. Mr. *Roland*, far from being diſpleaſed, aſſiſted me all he could, explained to the utmoſt of his Ability the Nature of *Gems*, and particularly of coloured Stones, which he beſt underſtood. To what I learned from Mr. *Roland*, I joined what I could diſcover on the ſame Subjects from thoſe who were ſkill'd in natural Philoſophy, and from ſuch Perſons of Taſte as had Cabinets, and were curious as to the Hiſtory of the remarkable *Jewels* which they had in their Cuſtody. I likewiſe went through a Courſe of Chemiſtry, procured all the Books I could hear of relating to precious Stones, and began my ſelf to make a little Collection of Rarities by way of Amuſement.

My Man *Johnſon* was at firſt a little out of humour at the Trouble my new Employment gave him, but by degrees he began to have a Reliſh for it, and was at laſt never better pleaſed than when employ'd in the Experiments I was daily making. All this Time I proceeded with my reſpective Maſters, and acquired ſo ſtrong a Reliſh for the Sciences, that I had no further Thoughts of an active Life. But as Time and Chance have Dominion over all Men, ſo it was not long before they exerted their Sovereignty over me, and ſo effectually changed the Face of my Affairs, and at the ſame time altered ſo entirely my own Temper, that never were two

Men

Men more unlike each other, than I in my ſucceeding Years to my ſelf while at *Geneva*.

In the beginning of the Year 1669, Mr. *Fetherſtone* acquainted me with the Death of my Uncle, which happened ſuddenly, ſo that he left his Affairs in the greateſt Confuſion. He had two Sons, of whoſe Education he had taken all imaginable Care, and yet with very little Succeſs. The eldeſt of them knowing, that at all Events he ſhould inherit his Mother's Jointure, became a downright rural Squire, converſed more with his Dogs than his Neighbours, and lived the Year round in a State between drunk and ſober. His Father dying without a Will, at leaſt that could be found, he took Poſſeſſion of his real Eſtate, and made over all Claim to what there might be of perſonal to his younger Brother.

This young Spark was quite of another Caſt; he had been bred at *Venice*, where he had acquired abundance of *Italian Art*, and where, if ever he had any, he left all his Stock of *Engliſh Probity*. When Mr. *Fetherſtone* firſt wrote to him on my Concerns, he pretended an abſolute Ignorance of them. He could not apprehend how any Mr. *Brown* ſhould ſtand in ſo near a Relation to him; alledged that his Father's Accompts were in bad Order, and that he did not know whether his *Effects* would anſwer the Demands which had already been made upon him. After *ſix* or *ſeven* Months writing to and fro, he at length wrote Mr. *Fetherſtone*, that he had found a *Memorandum* in his Father's Pocket-Book, purporting his Intention to remit *five hundred* Crowns to Mr. *Brown* at *Geneva*, in full of all his Demands, of which he deſired Mr. *Fetherſtone* to inform me; as alſo that he had remitted that Sum to Mr. *Hales* at *Venice*,

who would pay it to me or my Order, on my ſigning ſuch Diſcharges as he had taken care to tranſmit to the ſame Perſon.

I eaſily underſtood whereto all this tended, and ſaw clearly my own Folly in leaving *thirteen hundred* Pounds in my Uncle's Hands. The Mortgage I had was in the Name of *Brown*, for I had been out-lawed during the firſt *Dutch War*, when it was thought neceſſary to proceed with the utmoſt Severity againſt all who had been any way concerned in the Protector's Government. Thus in an Inſtant I loſt a comfortable Eſtate, and was left to look about me with no other View of a Subſiſtance, than what could be drawn from the ſmall Stock of between *three* and *four* thouſand Crowns, and the Effects which I ſtill had in *France* and *Italy*. One Advantage I had in the midſt of theſe croſs Accidents, *viz.* my Credit which the Tranſactions I had had with my *Uncle* Mr. *Fetherſtone*, Mr. *St. Dennis*, and Mr. *Hales* at *Bourdeaux*, and other Merchants, had rendered pretty extenſive: So that if I had been at this Time acquainted with the Method of carrying on any ſort of Traffick, I might either have done pretty well at *Geneva*, or might have removed to *Leghorn*, and have ſettled there with a tolerable Proſpect.

But as I had made Books ſo long my Study, all the Profit I reaped from them was to know that they could now be of very little Service; and as I was ſenſible that the diſcloſing my Affairs might be attended with infinitely more Prejudice than Advantage, I did not think proper to make at this Time any ſuch Inquiries as would have tended to the opening a Paſſage to a new Scene of Life, which nothing but Neceſſity could have prompted

prompted me to think of, and which Neceſſity was of all Reaſons in the World the moſt unfit to be aſſigned to thoſe I muſt have conſulted. It remained therefore thoroughly to conſider Things in my own Breaſt, and after mature Conſideration immediately to put in Practice ſuch Reſolutions as Reaſon dictated.

THE firſt Thing I did was to ſend *Johnſon* to *Venice*, with Orders to bring me Copies of the Papers tranſmitted to Mr. *Hales*, to whom I wrote in the moſt reſpectful Manner. While the Servant was gone upon this Errand, I ſpent almoſt all my Time at Mr. *Roland*'s, where our Converſation turned chiefly on the Trade he had carried on in the *Levant*. He acquainted me with the Genius and Temper of the People; the Jewels which they moſt affected; the Method of dealing with them; the Manner of travelling in Caravans; the neceſſary Precautions againſt ſuch Accidents as Strangers were moſt liable to; the Means of dealing with *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and other Chriſtians, together with the Arts of concealing Things of Value, and avoiding thoſe Snares which Governors, military Officers, and petty Princes make uſe of in order to plunder Travellers and Merchants. From theſe Inquiries I derived much Information, and as I was not over ſleepy in the Night, I diverted myſelf with writing in my Journal my Queſtions to Mr. *Roland*, and his Anſwers, and when I had ſo done, I drew out in my Pocket-Book a new Liſt of Queſtions for the next Day.

I did not at this Time apprehend that theſe Remarks would at any Time be of Service farther than to divert me; but when I afterwards experienced many Advantages from them, I took a liking to the Method, and

purſued it all my Life. One Thing Mr. *Roland* over and over inſiſted on, *viz.* That whoever intended to travel amongſt the *Turks*, *Perſians*, or other oriental Nations, ought by all Means to make himſelf Maſter of the Art of *Phyſick*, a *Science* little underſtood, and conſequently wonderfully admired by theſe Nations. As the preſent Diſorder of my Mind hindered me from applying to my uſual Studies, I made Choice of ſome Books of Travels, which I read with great Avidity, and perceiving from them how neceſſary good Mapps were, I made the beſt Collection I could in that Way, and had them bound ſo as to roll in a leather Caſe, which lying in a ſmall Compaſs, might be conveniently carried without any Danger of ſpoiling them.

THUS, without intending to travel, I furniſhed my ſelf with the Requiſites for a diſtant Voyage. On this I have ſometimes reflected with Wonder, but I think I can now diſcern that there was nothing in it ſtrange at all. A Man diſordered in his Mind never acts rationally, and therefore when he comes afterwards coolly to conſider his own Conduct, he takes the Effects of his own Paſſions for Things ſupernatural, and would fain introduce Fate to take the Blame of his Folly. Thus Self-Love bubbles us when we are not upon our Guard, and when we are, attempts to perſwade us that we were bubbled by ſomething elſe.

THE firſt News I received from *Johnſon*, was that he had received a very ſhort Anſwer from the Merchant, and that he was fallen ſick at *Venice* of an Ague, which rendered it impoſſible for him to travel. The Day after I received another Letter from a Merchant at *Roan*, with Advice that Mr. *Fetherſtone* had failed, and was gone

gone off. Both these Accidents gave me inexpressible Concern. I was forced to remit Money to *Venice* for the use of *Johnson*; I was much at a Loss for him to divert my Melancholy; for as he was a Man of Sense, and ten Years older than I, he was become a Sort of Companion, and indeed the only Companion I had. With Respect to Mr. *Fetherstone*, my Grief was equal for his Misfortune and my own, above a third Part of the little Fortune I had being in his Hands.

However, my Apprehensions with Respect to him were quickly lessened, by a Letter inclosed in one from Mr. *Hales*, signifying that his Losses would not at all affect me, all my Effects being in the Hands of them on whom he could depend, and who would shortly remit them to Mr. *Hales*. *Johnson* continued five Weeks ill at *Venice*, and was at last cured by the Surgeon of an *English* Ship by Vomits only. As soon as the Surgeon told him it was safe for him to travel, he set out for *Geneva*; and though he informed me of the Day of his Departure, he surprized me very much by his Arrival, which was four Days sooner than I expected. He told me that Mr. *Hales* had shewn him the Writings which he apprehended to be Releases in the most ample Forms, but that he had refused to let him have any Copies of them, and said, that if Mr. *Brown* did not think fit to sign them he might let it alone. After we had talk'd over some other Affairs that I had entrusted him with, and had received all the Intelligence he could give, we began to let Matters rest, and from talking of *Venice*, turned our Thoughts to our Affairs in *England*, *France*, and *Geneva*.

ONE Evening when we were deeply engaged in diſcuſſing Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Affair, *Johnſon* ſtarted up of a ſudden, and with an Air of Surprize cried out, *Lord! Sir! I forgot to tell you that Mrs.* Lucia —— *is at* Venice. At firſt I was ſo much confounded, that I did not make him an Anſwer; at laſt, contrary to my Cuſtom, I flew into a violent Paſſion, upbraided him with Stupidity, and want of Thought in not telling me before; to which the Man very innocently anſwered, That it was twenty to one, conſidering his Sickneſs, and the many Things he had upon his Head, that he remember'd it at all. However, I could not get him to any Temper that Night, and therefore went early to Bed, where I ſpent the Night without Sleep, endeavouring to find what it was that had put me ſo much out of my ordinary Road.

I was once or twice going to call *Johnſon* up, but reflecting that the Man would believe I was abſolutely mad, I deſiſted, and at laſt, when it grew light, fell aſleep, and did not wake 'till *Johnſon* came into the Room, to tell me it was eight o'Clock, and conſequently above two Hours later than I was wont to riſe.

WHEN I had dreſſed myſelf, I did not as my manner was go out; but having called *Johnſon* into the Room, talked to him of indifferent Things, in Order to lead him to ſpeak again of his Stay at *Venice*. But it fell out with me, as I believe it does with moſt Men, when under the Influence of their Paſſions; all I gain'd by my Arts, was to amuſe and deceive myſelf, for before we had talked a quarter of an Hour, *Johnſon* return'd very bluntly to the Point I aimed at, thus. I can now, Sir, very readily account for the Paſſion you were in laſt Night,

Night, as ſoon as I reflected on the manner Mrs. *Lucia* was ſpirited away from her Fathers, and how briskly you thereupon rode to your Uncle's, the Secret was out, and I perfectly convinced, that I ſhould have done better if I had ſpoke of Mrs. *Lucia*, before I had given you an Account of your Buſineſs; and perhaps it would have been beſt of all, if I had been wiſe enough to have forgot I had ſeen her.

When I found, that Circumſpection and Circumlocution ſignified nothing, I came as roundly to the Thing as he. Acknowledged that I had an extraordinary Concern, as to every Thing which related to this Lady, and deſired to know, how ſhe came to *Venice*, and in what manner ſhe liv'd there. Sir, anſwer'd *Johnſon*, I ſhould be glad if my Intelligence furniſhed me with a Power of making you ſatisfactory Anſwers; all I can tell you I will, and aſſure you with great Sincerity, that if while I remained at *Venice*, it had come into my Mind, that the Affairs of Mrs. *Lucia* had ſo near a Relation to yours, I ſhould not have ſpared any Pains to have been better informed about them; but as I had then no ſuch Thoughts, you muſt be content with receiving from me, what by meer Accident I came to know. One Day when I went to receive the Money you were pleaſed to remit me, I happened as I was going out of the Merchant's Houſe to meet Mrs. *Lucia*, ſhe knew me ſooner than I did her, called me by my Name, and asked me, if you were in *Venice*; I told her you were not, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had been there three Years, and never had been able to hear a Word of you, the Cauſe of which I readily apprehended to be your going by your Mother's Name. I promiſed

her

her to call the next Day; but having only that Time to provide for my Journey, my Head was ſo occupied with other Things, that I really thought no more of Mrs. *Lucia* till laſt Night; ſo that if I have committed any Fault thro' indiſcretion, I hope my telling you plainly the Truth, will make ſome Atonement for an involuntary Error.

It would have been very happy for me, if I had thought as wiſely as my Servant; but who ever does ſo that is under the Dominion of Paſſion. From the very Moment we had this Diſcourſe, I began to frame a Project of going to *Venice*, with no other View certainly than to ſee *Lucia*, and yet I had not Courage enough to avow this, but began to reaſon with *Johnſon* on Mr. *Hales*'s Conduct, and to drop ſome Hints, that very poſſibly I might be able to bring him by Diſcourſe, to think better upon this Head.

After ſeveral Converſations upon this Subject, perceiving what I ſaid made *Johnſon* very thoughtful and uneaſy, I preſſed him to ſpeak his Sentiments freely and candidly, and at laſt he did ſo. I have been about you Sir, ſaid he, ever ſince you were a Child, and when I was very little more myſelf, you have had a great many Difficulties to go through, and you have, bleſſed be God, gone through them very happily. Your Conduct hath hitherto been ſo right, that I never preſumed to queſtion it; but you are of late ſo much altered, have ſuch nice and odd Notions, that I find myſelf abſolutely obliged to impart to you out of your own Stock, and to offer to you the beſt Advice I can, from the Principles you have heretofore taught me.

As to Mr. *Hales*, he is a Man of an inflexible Temper, ſwallowed up in Buſineſs, and will no more enter into the Hiſtory of your private Concerns, than he would pay you the five Hundred Ducats upon an uncertainty. To make the Perſuaſion of this Man the Motive of your Journey, therefore would be a perfect Chimera; indeed if you ſettle your Affairs here, I ſhould think you might as well reſide at *Venice*, as any where elſe, or rather better; but to be making Journies to and fro, will anſwer no Purpoſe, but that of running into a large Expence, which is worſe than none.

As ſoon as I had extorted from *Johnſon* this plain and honeſt Judgment of my Affairs, the next Thing I did was, to ſeclude him from my Counſels, and to reſolve with great Secrecy and much Diligence, to proſecute as far as in me lay, the Ruin of my Fortune, which was already in a bad Train. I found out, by the Means of Mr. *Roland*, a Gentleman who had very conſiderable Concerns with Mr. *Hales*, and from him I procured Letters of Recommendation, ſignifying that I had reſided ſeveral Years at *Geneva*, had lived like a Man of Probity, on whoſe Word he might depend. From this Gentleman alſo, I took Bills on Mr. *Hales*, for upwards of a hundred Pounds Sterling; I likewiſe provided ſome Jewels, and having taken all the neceſſary Care for travelling with the utmoſt Expedition, the Morning before I was to ſet out, I acquainted *Johnſon* with my Reſolution, and at the ſame Time told him, that I ſhould leave all my Concerns in his Hands, and did not at all doubt his taking a proper Care of them.

The Man ſeemed, as well he might, amazed at ſo odd and ſudden a Step; but when he had recover'd himſelf

himſelf a little, he ſaid it was the firſt Time that he obeyed me with Reluctance; and that he ſhould be glad that I took as much Care of my own Affairs at *Venice*, as he would be ſure to take of all entruſted with him at *Geneva*. This ſaid, he immediately diſpatched whatever was requiſite for me to have with me in this Journey, ſuch as Cloaths, Linnen, *&c.* with a Care and Alacrity, which rather gave me Pain than Satisfaction.

THE next Day I ſet out, but my Mind was ſo much diſtracted, and my Head ſo confuſed, that I made no manner of Obſervation of Places, Perſons, or Things; and had much ado to regulate even the neceſſary Concerns in my Paſſage; ſo much was I taken up with a Deſire of reaching a Place where, properly ſpeaking, I had no very great Buſineſs.

AT laſt I arrived at *Padua*, where in Reſpect to my Health, I ought to have continued for ſome Time, having felt the firſt Attacks of an Ague, which viſited me more rudely at *Venice*. However I remained in this famous City and Univerſity but three Days, the firſt of which was far ſpent when I arrived, and on the laſt I was not able to travel. The fourth in the Morning, I ſet out for *Venice*, where the Difficulties I met with in going aſhore, partly through my own Inadvertency, and partly through the unneceſſary niceneſs of the Officers of Health vexed me not a little, and contributed to make the next Fit of my Ague more violent.

AS ſoon as I was at Liberty to go to the Factory, I did make ſhift to go firſt to Mr. *Hales*'s about Buſineſs, and then to the Merchant's Houſe where *Lucia* dwelt. At the firſt I met with better Treatment than

I expected; when I came to explain myſelf upon the Reaſons of not ſigning the Papers, Mr. *Hales* would have excuſed himſelf from hearing any Thing, but when I promiſed to be conciſe, and had entered a little into my Story, he ſaid I had been hardly uſed, deſired to ſee me ſome other Time, and promiſed he would think of ſome Method to ſerve me. *Lucia* was exceedingly ſurprized at the Sight of me, and tho' the great Errand I had at *Venice* was to ſee her, I was much more ſo at the Sight of her.

It happened luckily that there were no Spectators at this Interview, which when ſhe came to herſelf, the Lady deſired might be ſhort, adviſed me in a Day or two to go and lodge at a certain Place where ſhe promiſed I ſhould ſee her, and hear from her a very ſingular Account of what had happened to her ſince our parting. In Compliance with her Requeſt, I preſently took my Leave, and returned to the Place where I lodged for the preſent, which I found to be very little diſtant from the Dwelling of an *Engliſh* Statuary, at whoſe Houſe *Lucia* had deſired me to take Lodgings. I was at firſt thinking to have ſent for this Perſon, in order to have told him, that as I was much indiſpoſed, and had ſome Matters of Conſequence to tranſact at *Venice*, I ſhould be glad to live in an *Engliſh* Houſe for many Reaſons. But reflecting that *Lucia* could not direct me to this Man's Houſe without having ſome Knowledge of the Perſon who kept it, I judged it would be better to let it alone to the next Day, that in the intermediate Space, ſhe might if ſhe thought proper, give the Man ſome Intimation of it.

In this for once I judged right, for having the next Day about Noon, ſent for Seignior *Buſhell*, and acquainted him what my Buſineſs was, he preſently told me, that the Lady had ſpoke to his Wife upon this Head; and that in two or three Days, an Apartment ſhould be fitted up for me, and he would do his beſt to make all Things as commodious as poſſible. In the Interim I received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherſtone*, incloſed in one from *Johnſon*, in which he informed me of a very extraordinary Accident which had happened to our Friend M. *D'Aulnoy*.

The Marquiſs *de Courboyere*, M. *la Mouiſiere*, and M. *Lamiere*, three *Normans*, the two firſt Men of Family, and who had lived in Friendſhip with M. *de Aulnoy*; the laſt a Man in bad Circumſtances, but who had a good Reputation, conſpired the Deſtruction of this unfortunate Gentleman; the former out of Pique, the latter for a Reward of a thouſand Crowns, half of which he had received: The Method agreed on was, to charge M. *d'Aulnoy* with Treaſon, which accordingly was done, and the Matter ſo cunningly managed, that tho' the Facts were abſolutely falſe, yet the innocent Gentleman was on the very Point of being condemned: Then it was that *Lamiere*, a Stranger to him in Compariſon to the other, began to relent; however Fear got the better of his Honeſty, and he held his Tongue till M. *d'Aulnoy* was Condemned to loſe his Head, till the Prieſt had confeſſed him, and till he ſaw his Grave dug.

He then followed the ſuppoſed Criminal into the Preſence of his Judges, who were met to examine him before his Execution. There *Lamiere* fell down on his Knees

Knees, confeſſed his Perjury, and charg'd his two Aſſociates, who were likewiſe preſent, with the Conſpiracy, of which he gave ſuch authentic Proofs, that M. *d'Aulnoy* was immediately diſcharg'd. The Marquiſs *de Courboyere* was a few Days afterwards executed on the Scaffold erected for the Execution of M. *d'Aulnoy*, on which the Day following *la Muiſiere* ſuffered. *Lamiere* was preſent at both theſe Executions; after the laſt, he knelt down near the dead Body, and the Executioner having paſſed his Sword over his Head, he was ſet at Liberty. A moſt ſignal Deliverance this from a double Execution of the Body and of the Reputation. What the Motive of this Conſpiracy was, or whether any more than M. *d'Aulnoy* were compriſed therein, I could never learn. As to his own Affairs, Mr. *Fetherſtone* acknowledged, they were in very bad Order, but aſſured me, my Money was ſafe, and that I might command it when I pleaſed.

The Day before I was to go to Mr. *Buſhell*'s the Statuary, went again to wait on Mr. *Hales*, who told me he had reflected on what I ſaid, and by comparing it with certain Circumſtances, within the compaſs of his own Knowledge, was fully convinced it was true. He added, that he was ſorry a Gentleman who had been bred at *Venice* ſhould act after ſuch a manner; and that if I remained a few Months there, he would endeavour to procure me Satisfaction. He would have paid the Bills I brought with me from *Geneva*, tho' they were not due; but I declined it, having no immediate Occaſion for Money.

He adviſed me to be careful of my Health, and not to ſuffer myſelf to be corrupted by the Pleaſures of *Venice*.

After

AFTER Dinner I went to ſee a Play, which did not entertain me near ſo much as I expected. To have a reliſh for *Italian* Comedy, a Man muſt not only underſtand *Italian*, but be alſo thoroughly tinctured with their Manners, otherwiſe the pert Jokes, the obſcene Jeſts, and that ſort of manual Wit with a wooden Sword, which is there ſo much in Faſhion, amounts to nothing. The *Engliſh* Comedy, eſpecially as manag'd by *Johnſon* and *Fletcher*, is infinitely ſuperior to any Thing hitherto known in *Europe*.

ONE may be allowed to ſay this without Suſpicion of Flattery, ſince to judge of Comedy, we muſt read the Rules laid down by the *Critics*, obſerve their Effects in the Works of the ancient Poets, who are by all allowed to excel, and then with thoſe compare the *Moderns*; but if we except the *French*, there are none but our *Engliſh* Comedies that can be compared with the Ancients. The *Italian* Plays, nay, and the *Spaniſh* too, are written without Regard to rule, and depend much more upon the Action of the Player, than upon the Genius of the Author.

TIRED therefore with this Repreſentation, I bought two or three Collections of Novels, that I might improve myſelf in *Italian*, and at the ſame Time divert that ſplenetick Diſpoſition, which made me uneaſy to myſelf, and no doubt diſagreeable to others. Thus the ſame Paſſion which diveſted me of a Power of uſing Time, taught me how to murder it, juſt as the Folly which hinders a young Man from encreaſing an Eſtate, puts him into the Road of ſpending it.

THE ſecond Day after my Removal, *Lucia* came to ſee me, her Viſit was ſhort, and a meer Matter of Form,

Form, ſome of the Family being always preſent; but ſhe took Occaſion to drop a Note in the Window, intimating, that the next Day at three o'Clock, ſhe would come and ſtay two or three Hours. Theſe Delays were infinitely grievous to me, yet as I apprehended they were reaſonable, it gave me a moſt exalted Idea of *Lucia's* Prudence.

At her Hour the Lady came, with a Servant, and after having paſſed ſome little Time with a Friend of her's, who lodged in the Houſe, ſhe paſſed through that Lady's Apartment to mine; and after ſome previous Introduction, and brief Inquiry into what had befallen me ſince I left *England*; ſhe entred on the Story of her own Life, and the Cauſe of our ſtrange and ſudden Separation. It may be my Recital of her Diſcourſe, may in ſome Way tarniſh its Beauty, Women having a peculiar Elegance in Narration, and the Detail of Facts, likes Rays of Light receiving Colour from Reflection, yet if Truth be preſerved, the Variations will not be material, and as they are inevitable may be eaſily pardoned.

It would be to no Purpoſe ſaid ſhe, for me to give you any Account of my Family, who are as well acquainted with it as myſelf, I will therefore briefly open to you what hath been the Source of great Diſquiet to me, and I am perſwaded, no leſs Uneaſineſs to yourſelf. Colonel —— when he went on the Expeditions to *Hiſpaniola*, left under my Father's Care his Son, a Youth of about Nineteen Years of Age. What Education he had before he came to live with us I know not, but during that Space, we ſaw little Signs of any; Country Sports he affected much, loved Drinking more than youngſters uſually do, and was addicted to other Vices,

which made my Father very uneaſy, leſt he ſhould corrupt my Brother *Philip*.

It ſo happened, that either by over heating himſelf, or ſome other Irregularity, this young Gentleman fell into a Fever, which brought him to the very Verge of Death, and when it left him, had ſo exceedingly enfeebled him, that the Phyſicians were of Opinion, it would be followed by a Conſumption. To prevent this, they recommended to him a very regular Courſe of Life, great Compoſure of Mind, and all ſorts of innocent Diverſions. In Conſequence of theſe Rules, he came much more into our Company than he was wont, and being much taken with the Romances and Books of Poetry which furniſh my Cloſet, he fancied the Amuſement he received from them, contributed to his Health, which being eſtabliſhed by Degrees, he ſhewed a more than ordinary Regard for me, which was much ſooner underſtood by my Brother and Father than myſelf.

You muſt know, that my Brother *Philip* hath ſome Qualities in him which are not ſuddenly ſuſpected. He is particularly addicted to Intereſt, and was ſo from his moſt tender Years. He never deſpiſed Money, as young Lads are apt to do, but very carefully laid up whatever was given him, and was continually forming Projects to encreaſe his Stock.

As ſoon therefore as he perceived his Friends liking to me, he informed my Father of it, took Notice of the conſiderable Eſtate the young Gentleman was to inherit, as alſo of his Expectations from a Relation at *Smyrna*, immenſely rich, and who had no other Relation. While he was inſtilling theſe Notions into my Father's Head, Colonel —— died abroad, and left his

Son

Son a clear Eſtate of 1500 *l. per Ann.* and a very conſiderable Sum in ready Money, which determined my Father to improve, what to him appeared the luckieſt Accident in the World. As to me, they either thought my Conſent not neceſſary, or reckoned upon it as a Thing of Courſe; and therefore they mentioned nothing of their Scheme till all was ripe for its Execution.

When the young Man had diſcovered that as a Secret to my Brother, which himſelf had found out, and reckoned upon long before, then it was thought proper to break the Matter to me, which was accordingly done by my Brother; but in ſuch Terms, as ſhewed that I was not to be conſulted, but directed. Whether this gave any Biaſs to my Inclinations or not, I am unable to determine. The young Man had never been agreeable to me, tho' out of Reſpect to his Family, I had always treated him with much Civility: An Accident had contributed to improve this Diſlike into an Averſion, he had a Lad that waited on him, pretty near his own Age, and who was, his Nurſe's Son; this Boy upon every little Offence, he would laſh with his Horſe-Whip as if he had been a Slave; which to me ſeemed a bad Preſident for his Wife, and therefore I told my Brother on the firſt mention of this Buſineſs, that I could never have any Affection for him; and therefore would never conſent to marry him.

This unexpected Anſwer put them all into Confuſion. The firſt Reſolution they came to was, to forbid me to explain myſelf to the young Man; which Command I received from my Father himſelf, not without ſome very ſharp Reflections on my Conduct,

or as he was pleaſed to call it, my diſobedience. As in the Courſe of my Life I had never deſerved or received the ſmalleſt Reproof before, the old Gentleman's Diſcourſe made an inexpreſſible Impreſſion on my Mind, inſomuch that I threw myſelf at his Feet, and bedewed them with my Tears.

When I had recovered my Spirits a little, I told him I was ſo ſenſible of my Duty to him as a Parent, and of the Obligations laid on me by his Tenderneſs, that I had much rather ſubmit to Death than do any Thing which might either offend or afflict him. I would be glad to know, Daughter, replied he, which you would have me believe, your Words, or your Actions; for as they are contrary, you cannot imagine I can believe both. Pardon me, Sir, returned I, if to me they ſeem very conſiſtent; I wiſh *Lucia*, added he, that you could convince me of that; why, Sir, continued I, my refuſing to marry this Man is not the Effect of Humour, Pre-poſſeſſion, or Obſtinacy, I am convinced in my Mind, that if I were his Wife, he would make me very unhappy; this Sir, would not fail to afflict you, and therefore I hope you will not attribute my Conduct to Diſobedience. No, *Lucia!* ſaid the good old Man, ſighing, I ſhall not: You may depend upon it that I will never force your Conſent; perhaps you may in Time change your Sentiments; in the mean time, all that I expect from you, is to conceal them.

What Excuſes they made to my Suitor, I know not; but about two Months after, came a Letter from his Relation at *Smyrna*, deſiring him to come thither with all poſſible Expedition, with an Aſſurance that he would be well recompenſed for the Fatigue of his Voyage.

Voyage. My Father and Brother adviſed him to comply with his Relation's Deſire, and the rather, becauſe they thought his Abſence added to his Youth, might be ſerviceable in protracting certain Suits that they were apprehenſive would be commenced, in relation to ſome part of his Eſtate; they promiſed to furniſh him with a proper Expedient for returning in a Year, or a little more, and my Brother very roundly undertook to him, that the Marriage he deſired ſhould then take Effect.

As to the Management of his Eſtate, his Father had ſettled it by Will on certain Truſtees, with whom my Father would have nothing to do, having naturally no great proneneſs to Buſineſs. He and my Brother accompanied the young Gentleman to *London*, and the Spring following my Father would have *Phillip* go and ſtudy in *Scotland*; for he perceived that notwithſtanding a more than ordinary Sagacity in his Nature, he had not a ſufficient Stock of Learning, nor a competent Knowledge of the World, both of which he thought he might acquire by reſiding a little at one of the Univerſities in that Country.

I NEED not tell you what paſſed while you were at my Father's Houſe; but as you are ignorant of the manner in which I was carried away, I will acquaint you therewith, and of what happened to me ſince I have been here. When you inadvertently communicated to my Brother your Thoughts concerning me, he inſtantly flew to my Father, and having given him very diſadvantagious Impreſſions of our innocent Correſpondence, brought him to order me to remain in my Chamber, where he was pleaſed to watch over me himſelf. About five in the Morning my Brother carried me in

the Coach to *Spalding*, from whence, when you were gone into the *North*, I was carried to *London*, and as narrowly watched, as if either ſome mighty Fortune had depended upon my Marriage, or I had been engaged in ſome ſcandalous Intrigue.

In three Years Space I heard little or nothing from Home, whether at laſt I returned almoſt without knowing why I had been baniſh'd, or wherefore I was recalled. The good old Man received me on my Return with great Tenderneſs; he ſaid he was ſorry he had been ſo long deprived of me, and hoped I would ſtill be a Comfort to him, ſince he had loſt my Siſter. This ſurpriz'd me, for in the Letters my Brother thought fit now and then to write to me, he had never mentioned a Word of any Thing befallen my Siſter; I therefore asked my Father with ſome Amazement, how long ſhe had been dead? She is not dead my Child anſwered he, tho' ſhe is dead to me, ſhe has married one Captain ——— whom you muſt have ſeen, a great Royaliſt, a boon Companion, and one of a ſmall Fortune, who will quickly waſte what her Grandmother left her, and leave her to be a Burthen and Diſgrace to my Family.

I had not been long at Home before, after much Inquiry, I was inform'd that you were gone abroad under a borrowed Name, but whither, or under what Name, I could not then, or ever after learn. After a few Months, my Brother was obliged to go into the *Weſt* on ſome Affairs of Conſequence, and a Day or two after his Departure, my Siſter came privately to make me a Viſit. As we had always loved each other tenderly, I received her with all the Marks of Affection poſſible, and met the like in her, ſhe told me, that being

ing quite tired with my Brother's ſevere governing Temper, ſhe determined with herſelf to take the firſt Opportunity that offered of gaining her Liberty. While ſhe was in this Temper, the Gentleman ſhe married met her by Chance at a Neighbour's Houſe, and being ſurprized to ſee a Woman whoſe Family had been always of the Puritan Side, ſo chearful and debonnaire, he took a Pleaſure in converſing with her, and by Degrees became much in Love with her, ſhe told him candidly and plainly the State ſhe was in, her Deſire of being ſettled, and the ſmall Fortune ſhe had.

THE Captain as fairly told her, he had a Relation lately dead, who had left him wherewith to clear his Eſtate, that he was very ſenſible of the idle manner in which he had formerly ſpent his Time; and that he was juſt in her Condition, waiting for an Opportunity to ſettle himſelf. This Similitude of Circumſtances joined to the peeviſhneſs of my Brother, and the abſolute Command he had over my Father, brought Things to a ſpeedy Concluſion; they married privately, and my Siſter having left a moſt dutiful Letter behind her, retired to the Captain's Houſe, about a quarter of an Year before I was ſent for Home.

WHEN ſhe had viſited me twice or thrice, I took a Opportunity when I knew my Father was coming down Stairs to leave the Door open. The old Gentleman, as ſoon as he ſaw her, came into the Room, and tho' he at firſt would have been very angry, yet in half an Hour his Paſſion was ſo far loſt, that he asked her to ſtay all Night, and offered to ſend a Servant to acquaint her Husband, ſhe very readily complied, and the next Morning came the Captain.

We were from this Time all very good Friends, and my Father's Temper began to alter very much. His Son-in-law and he converſed very freely on Tranſactions of an ancient Date, and the more they converſed, the better they were ſatisfied with each other. My Father found that the Captain was neither debauched in his Morals, nor addicted to arbitrary Power, and he on the other Hand ſaw nothing of that Stiffneſs or Contempt of the Government which he expected in the old Man. Thus Things went for a Time happily enough in our Family, excepting that my uneaſineſs on your Account, encreaſed the natural Gravity of my Temper, and by cauſing a great Depreſſion of Spirits, brought on an Indiſpoſition of Body which threatened a Conſumption.

My Brother, whoſe fertile Brain would never ſuffer him to be ſtill, and whoſe Notions with Reſpect to Church and State had not received much Improvement from his Studies in *Scotland*, embarqued himſelf in an Affair which had well nigh effected his Deſtruction. It happened that ſome of his Acquaintance had mentioned him to the *Duke* of *Bucks*, who was then in Diſgrace, as a Man of lively Parts, and one zealouſly devoted to the Common-wealth Party; upon this he ſent for him, careſſed him, gave him a Share in his Buſineſs and his Pleaſures, 'till the King iſſued a Proclamation for apprehending his Grace; and Warrants from the Council were ſent to ſeize his Dependants, among whom *Philip* had the Honour to be one.

In this Diſtreſs he retired into his native Country, and coming to a Farm-houſe about a Mile's Diſtance from our's, ſent for his Father; the old Gentleman

though

though he went to ſee him, did not afford him that Countenance he was wont, but ſpoke to him very roundly, told him he was reconciled to Capt. —— and that he would ſpeak to him of his Buſineſs. My Brother took all in good Part, and being well acquainted with the Captain's Character, deſired to lodge at his Houſe, as knowing it would not be ſearched.

But in a few Months the Scene was changed; the Duke of *Bucks* was declared Prime Miniſter; governed all Things at his Will; and my Brother going up to *London*, was well received by the Duke, and is, I believe, ſtill in his Confidence. What the Deſigns of his Grace are, it is well if himſelf can tell; but as to *Philip*, I dare ſay his Aim is to aggrandize himſelf by the Favour of his Patron, who hath already made ſuch Promotions as have given Birth to a Proverb: *That to have a Place at Court a Man muſt be known not to love the King*. My Diſtemper encreaſing, my Father was deſirous I ſhould come to *London* for Advice; I did ſo, and lodged with an Aunt of my Brother-in-Law the Captain's. She had the Honour to be allied to the *Newcaſtle Family*, and by that means I was introduced to a great deal of good Company, to whom otherwiſe I ſhould never have been known.

My Brother, during my Stay in Town, viſited me very aſſiduouſly, and gave me extraordinary Marks of Tenderneſs and Affection. His former Conduct towards me made me at firſt entertain ſome Doubt of his Intentions, but by Degrees the great Change I ſaw in his Manners engaged me to hope he was really become a new Man; for though he ſtill affected to live upon good Terms with his old Friends, yet he was become a great Courtier,

Courtier, ſpoke very advantagiouſly of the *Duke of York*, and ſometimes hinted that his *Royal Highneſs* had an extraordinary Kindneſs for the *Presbyterians*.

THOUGH theſe Things ſerved for ſome Time to amuſe me, and though on my firſt coming to *London* I was viſibly better, yet in a few Months I relapſed, and the Phyſicians unanimouſly agreed that nothing could reſtore me to a ſound State of Health, but reſiding ſome Time either in the South of *France*, or in *Italy*. Tho' this was not very agreeable to me at firſt, yet my Brother perſuaded me to comply with it, promiſing to make it his Care that I ſhould be perfectly eaſy as long as I ſtaid abroad, and that he would procure me ſuch Recommendations, as ſhould ſecure to me a good Reception where-ever I came.

I DID not care, however, to be wholly at his Diſpoſal, and therefore I very gladly accepted my Brother-in-Law's Propoſal of going to *Venice*, and reſiding in the Houſe where I now am, the Gentleman's Wife being the Captain's firſt Couſin. I have been here near ſix Months, have heard regularly from my Brother, whoſe Letters are continually accompanied with Preſents; and the Air hath had ſo proper an Effect on my Conſtitution, that I really think that I am perfectly recovered.

THUS, without telling me any thing very extraordinary, *Lucia* charm'd my Attention, and I liſten'd with more Satisfaction to the plain Narrative of what had befallen her ſince my leaving *England*, than I ſhould have done to the beſt wrought Story of any *Italian* Wit, though it had abounded with ſurprizing Incidents, and had been embelliſhed with that captivating Elegance deriv'd to this Nation, not more from Art than Nature.

In return to this Detail of *Lucia*'s Adventures, I made a brief Recital of my own, from the Time of my leaving her Father's Houſe, to that of my ſettling at *Geneva*. When I had finiſh'd, You have not told me, ſaid ſhe, any of your Amours. Come! come! You muſt not perſuade me, that in ſo many Years you have ſeen no-body who could efface the ſlight Impreſſions you are pleaſed to ſay I made upon your Mind. If Nature had formed you without Regard to our Sex, you would have had no Paſſion for me; and having this Bent from Nature, Love could never have been all this Time idle.

Your own Relation, *Lucia*, ſaid I, affords me a proper Excuſe; you have told me nothing of the Addreſſes which your Beauty muſt have every where attracted, and therefore the Credit I afford your Silence ought to derive the like to mine. To ſpeak freely, I believe our Coolneſs hath had but one Cauſe. The Impreſſion your Charms made on my Heart, join'd to the ill-omen'd Events which follow'd it, gave me I know not what Prejudice to the Ladies, and hindered me from reaping thoſe Advantages from their Converſation in my Travels which I might otherwiſe have done. Believe me, Madam, I look upon this to be an Injury for which you are accountable to me, and which you can only repair by making me happy in your ſelf. All Prejudices of this Sort deprive a Man of the higheſt Pleaſure Converſe with the World affords: There is a certain dry Gravity attendant on the Diſcourſes of Men of Senſe, which diſguſts, though the parting with it would introduce a Levity far more diſguſtful; but with the Ladies it is otherwiſe; they animate Converſation with an innocent

nocent Livelineſs, more effectually prevalent againſt Spleen than all the Wiſdom in the World. To Men a Man ſubmits from Cuſtom and a Principle of good Manners, which like the Homage paid to a Uſurper, is accompanied with a ſecret and unextinguiſhable Regret; but Regard for Women is the Dictate of Nature, and like the Duty paid to a natural Prince, iſſues from the Fullneſs of our Hearts, and is ſcarce received with ſo much Pleaſure as it is given.

I AM obliged to you, replied *Lucia*, for theſe Compliments; but ſince you have mentioned *Italian* Love-Stories, permit me to give you a ſhort Account of one, the Particulars of which fell under my own Cognizance; and the Son of the unhappy Lady whom it concerns was your Predeceſſor in theſe Lodgings. I told her that I ſhould be very glad to hear any thing that might be depended upon, becauſe the *Italian* Wits having a fruitful Invention, and being alſo naturally fond of ſurpriſing incredible Adventures, I had not hitherto given much Faith to many of the Stories I had heard.

I believe you are not much in the Wrong, continued *Lucia*; but upon what I aſſert in Reſpect to my Story you may depend; as to the leſs important Circumſtances, you may judge as you pleaſe; and the whole will leave you ſuch a Field for Conjecture, that your Faith will not be at all over-burthen'd by the Load my Credit will bind upon it.

LUCRETIA Donda was a Lady whoſe Beauty, though it diſtinguiſhed her from all the Women in *Padua*, was very far inferior to her Virtue, and to the amiable Qualities of her Mind. Her Cheerfulneſs, which was the Effects of her Innocency, made her always agreeable

greeable to others; and the Tranquility of her own Life was ſuch, that as ſhe always ſeemed, ſo ſhe was always perfectly eaſy and well pleaſed.

THE Marquis of *Orciano* fell in Love with her, and marry'd her when ſhe was very young. Her Parents laid no Reſtraint on her Choice, though they had recommended one Signior *Lorenzo*, who was alſo deeply in Love with her. The Lady, in Conſequence of the Liberty left her, made Choice of the Marquis, though before and after her Marriage, ſhe always ſpoke of Signior *Lorenzo*, in Terms of very high Eſteem. Eighteen Years this Couple lived together with all the outward Appearance of Content; ſeveral Children they had, the eldeſt a hopeful Youth, who had proſecuted his Studies with great Applauſe, and who to the Love of Books joined alſo a ſuitable Affection for all ſuch Things as it became a Gentleman to know.

AS for *Lucretia*, the gentleneſs of her Manners, her ſpotleſs Character, her artleſs inoffenſive Conduct, made her the Darling and Delight of all *Padua*. The Men ſpoke of her in Raptures, the Ladies held her the Honour of their Sex, and *Signior Lorenzo* perſevering in his romantick Gallantry, affected to admire her now no leſs than when ſhe was ſingle. It happened that the Marquiſs of *Orciano* had Occaſion to make a Journey to this City, and in his Abſence the poor Lady fell a Victim, whether to Luſt or Jealouſy, none can tell.

THE Night after her Husband's Departure, her Son hearing her give a violent Shriek, jumped out of Bed, and ran to her Chamber-Door, which opening upon him, ſomebody came out, puſhed him over the Stairs.

beſm

beſmearing his Face with his Mother's Blood, and ſo went out. The Servants alarmed, and bringing Lights, the Lady was found half out of Bed, with three Stabs on her Left Breaſt, two of which were held to be mortal. She was not quite dead, but ſpeechleſs, and unable to give any Account who was the Author of her Death.

SIGNIOR *Lorenzo* being proved to have walked frequently under her Windows, was apprehended, and put to the Torture; which he ſuſtained with incredible Firmneſs of Mind, acknowledged it the juſt Reward of his Folly, but declaring that he knew not any Thing of *Lucretia*'s Murder, though he might be the innocent and involuntary Author of it. This Expreſſion occaſioned new Suſpicions; Signior *Lorenze* was diſcharged, and the Marquis of *Orciano* impriſoned in his Stead. He proved himſelf here at *Venice* on the Night of the Commiſſion of the Fact, and was thereupon diſcharged.

A while after ſome of the Servants put it into the Son's Head, that Signior *Lorenzo* was both the Murderer of his Mother, and the Aſſaſſin of his Father's Reputation. The Youth unfortunately mention'd it to ſome of his Fellow Students, who far from moderating the ill Impreſſions he had received, exhorted him as a Man of Honour to take Vengeance of the Enemy of his Family.

THE poor young Gentleman, thus miſled, hired certain *Bravo's* to aſſiſt him in his Enterprize, which ſucceeded but too well; for ſurpriſing Signior *Lorenzo* as he came from Maſs, they ſhot him in the Street; ſome Gentlemen, who were with him, purſued and kill'd two of the Murderers, but the young *Orciano* eſcaped, and for ſome Time lived privately here.

He ſeemed to be a very well-inclined young Man, but a little diſturbed in his Head; however, being known, and proclaimed a *Banditto* at *Padua*, he was forced to fly, and is now at *Rome*. His Father leads a very diſconſolate Life, having never been able to clear himſelf from the Suſpicions brought upon him by this unfortunate Affair: To perpetuate, however, the Memory of ſo excellent a Perſon, the Government of *Padua* have in their Hall of Juſtice erected a Statue of the amiable *Lucretia*, with a ſuitable Inſcription.

After ſome Reflections on this melancholly Story, I obſerved to *Lucia*, that I was certainly a little unlucky in my Lodgings, ſince the Houſe I lived in at *Geneva* belonged to the Grandſon of a Man whoſe Adventure had not only made himſelf remarkable, but was at every Turn brought up on the Mention of any of his Family. *Lucia* deſired to be acquainted with it; and though the Story was common, I gave her an Account of it, having formerly ſet it down in my Diary as a Proof of this Obſervation. That Vice is ever productive of Miſery; and that ſuch have Reaſon to be well pleaſed with their Situation, who diſtinguiſh the Hand of God in their Puniſhments in this World. The Inſtance was this.

The Hero of this Hiſtory was a Native of *Rimini*, a City in the *Papal* Territory, and a very accompliſhed Gentleman, his Name was Signior *Pandolfo*. He had ſerved ſome Years in the *French* King's Armies, and with Reputation. He reſided ſome time afterwards at *Rome*, but finding, that though his Mind had improved, his Eſtate had been impaired by ſo many Years Abſence, he retired to *Rimini*, reſolving to paſs the Remainder of his Years in his native Soil. He was then about *thirty ſix*,

ſix, and as active and ſprightly as when a Lad. It ſo fell out that his Houſe joined to that of an old Gentleman who had married a young Wife, the Daughter of a Man of great Quality, though but mean Fortune.

SIGNIOR *Pandolfo* had not been long at home e'er this Lady caſt her Eyes upon him. She was a Woman addicted to Pleaſure, and without any Regard either to the Laws of Honour or Religion. She made therefore no manner of Scruple of acquainting Signior *Pandolfo* with her Kindneſs for him; and he, much too fine a Gentleman to feel any Reſtraint from Conſcience, contrived a Method for their better Acquaintance, by breaking a Paſſage into her Maid's Chamber, whence he was eaſily conducted to her's.

BUT to prevent all Poſſibility of Surprize, the Lady cauſed ſeveral Holes to be bored in a very large Cheſt, where ſhe kept her choiceſt Clothes and her Jewels, which was all the Fortune ſhe brought her Husband, that upon any Emergency *Pandolfo* might be lock'd up therein, and yet not ſuffer for Want of Air.

THINGS went on in this Courſe for about two Years, when the Lady fell dangerouſly ill. Finding her End approach, ſhe would needs take Leave of *Pandolfo*; but in the Midſt of this Interview, hearing her Huſband coming, he was forced to betake himſelf to his Cheſt, in which he had not lain long before he heard the Lady addreſs herſelf in theſe Words. *My tenderly loving and much beloved Lord, I find Life retiring; gratify me in one Requeſt dying, to whom living you denied nothing.* Speak, ſaid the good old Man, and be aſſured, that whatever you aſk ſhall be granted. *Let then*, ſaid ſhe, *that Cheſt be ſet upon my Coffin without any Body's being ſuffered to look in it. It ſhall be ſo*, replied the Husband.

Preſently

Preſently, ſome of her Relations came to viſit her, and in a couple of Hours ſhe expired.

As her Diſtemper was a kind of malignant Fever, it was reſolved to bury her about Midnight of the next Day, which was accordingly done, and the Cheſt, unopened, placed upon her Coffin in the Vault where ſhe was interr'd. Before her Amour with Signior *Pandolfo*, ſhe had ſhewn ſome Marks of Favour to her Huſband's Page, who had thereby an Opportunity of ſeeing the Jewels that were in her Cheſt. This Man conceiving that ſuch Things were of little Uſe to the Dead, went to the Sexton, and having promiſed him and his Son a Share in the Booty, prevailed on them to take a Share in the Enterprize of ſearching the Cheſt.

Signior *Pandolfo*, in the mean time, gave himſelf up for dead, and beſought the Almighty to pardon him his manifold Sins, and to ſuffer them to be expiated by this cruel Puniſhment. Such were his Meditations when he heard the Door of the Vault open, and ſoon after found them tampering about the Lock of the Cheſt. Conceiving thereupon a ſudden Hope of Deliverance, he puſhed back the Spring of the Lock, and throwing up the Lid of the Cheſt, ſtarted up all at once.

The Thieves, ſuppoſing it was the Devil come to puniſh them for their ſacrilegious Attempt, fled without looking behind them. *Pandolfo* having put as many of the Jewels as he thought fit into his Pockets, went and hid himſelf in a private Part of the Church 'till Morning, and then retired to his own Houſe ſecretly. His Son, for he afterwards married, being a Prieſt in the fortieth Year of his Age, retired to *Geneva*, where he became a

Proteſtant, married a young Woman, and left a numerous Family.

THE Evening began now to wear apace, and *Lucia* at length took her Leave, with a Promiſe of giving me another Viſit in two or three Days. In the Intervals between her Viſits I diverted myſelf with ſeeing whatever was curious in *Venice*; the *Duke*'s Palace, the *Arſenal*, the Church of St. *Mark*, and many other Places; which as Books inſpired me with a Curioſity of examining, ſo they left me little of Novelty to treaſure up amongſt my own obſervations. Some Remarks, however, I did make, and in the Number, theſe.

THE *Venetian* Commerce, which is now little ſpoken of, deſerves the Attention of *Foreigners*; and the Liberty of *Venice*, which is exceſſively cry'd up, hath indeed very little in it, or to ſpeak with greater Propriety, is it ſelf nothing at all. This may ſeem very ſtrange, but it is notwithſtanding very true. For, in the firſt place, the Duke himſelf is a *Slave*; he hath, it is true, a fine *Palace*, and when he goes abroad doth it in much State, but then this State reflects Honour only on the *Republick*; and as to the Palace, he is in fact a Priſoner in it, having Counſellors continually about him who pry into all his Actions, and from whom he neither can, nor dare keep any Thing.

ON the other hand, the Nobility dare not converſe with Foreigners, eſpecially of Diſtinction, for fear of rendering themſelves obnoxious to the State. Many of theſe Noblemen, notwithſtanding they boaſt ſo much of their Honours, go about to Stranger's Lodgings, and beg of them privately with very great Humility; nay, ſome of them

them will do this who live in good Credit, keep handſome Houſes, Servants, and *Gondolas*.

As to the People, they are the fartheſt from enjoying *Liberty*, taking that Word in a juſt and proper Senſe, of any in the World. As for their Coin, it riſes and falls two or three Times in a Month; many of the poorer Noblemen go into Shops and buy what they think fit, ſend it home, and pay for it at the *Greek Kalends*, that is, *never*; he from whom they take it neither daring to refuſe them *Credit*, nor demand his Debt when he has given it them.

As for Strangers, they may do what they pleaſe, ſo they meddle not with the State, the ſmalleſt Offence againſt which meets with the quickeſt and ſevereſt Puniſhment. It is indeed a very glorious City in all Reſpects, and very far richer than in the northern Parts of *Europe*, we are apt to think. It is about eight Miles in Extent, contains not leſs than ſeventy Churches, ſixty Religious Houſes, the one half for Men, the other for Women, between four and five hundred Bridges, and at leaſt ten thouſand *Gondolas* or *Boats*, which are very convenient, and which they manage with great Dexterity.

In the few Weeks Stay I made at *Venice*, I had many Interviews with *Lucia*, all at my own Lodgings, whither ſhe came under Colour of viſiting a Lady who lived there likewiſe. She ſaid ſhe had Reaſons for my not viſiting her at home; and indeed what ſhe alledged on this Head was very reaſonable, *viz.* That we could not talk freely there, and that it would have rendered it impoſſible for her to have viſited ſo frequently, and ſo long as ſhe did at the Houſe where I lodged. The Iſſue

of theſe Interviews was, that we ſhould return together to *England*, and that after being privately married, ſhe would, by her Brother-in-Law's Intereſt, procure me a Pardon, which would have put me in a Condition to have dealt with my perfidious Couſin.

HER Fortune in Poſſeſſion and Reverſion might amount to between fourteen and fifteen hundred Pounds; and if this Project, which either was, or Love made me believe was practicable, had been carried into Execution, we might have lived comfortably enough, our Tempers ſuiting at leaſt as well as moſt of thoſe who make Bargains for Life. But firſt of all it was neceſſary that I ſhould return to *Geneva*, and ſettle all my Affairs there; which, however, was not to be gone about, 'till I had received Mr. *Hales*'s Anſwer.

THIS arrived at the End of the Space I mentioned, and contained in Subſtance, that my Couſin was very much ſurprized at his Correſpondent's Letter; and tho' he found nothing among his Father's Papers to warrant moſt of the Facts ſtated therein, yet, for the Sake of Peace, and to ſhew his honeſt Inclinations, he was content to pay me a thouſand Chequins, provided I would ſign an Agreement to make no farther Demands in three Years, in which Space all his Father's Affairs, he hoped, would be thoroughly ſettled.

MR. *Hales* adviſed me to accept of this Propoſal; and indeed I thought it very reaſonable my ſelf; ſo I ſigned the neceſſary Papers, and received the Money.

WHEN there was nothing to hinder my ſetting out for *Geneva*, I made the neceſſary Preparations for it, and the Evening preceeding my Departure, had a long tender Interview with *Lucia*, to whom at her going away

away I preſented a Ring ſet after the *Turkiſh* manner, that is enigmatically. It conſiſted of a large Saphire perforated, a Diamond filling up the Middle, the whole ſurrounded with Rubies, which according to the Language of oriental Gallantry, is thus explained.

THE Rubies which firſt ſalute the Eye, ſignify a ſtrong and ardent Paſſion; the Saphire repreſents Fidelity; both of which are inſinuated to be everlaſting in their Nature by the Diamond: Alluding to a *Turkiſh* Verſe, which litterally render'd, runs thus,

My faithful Love ſhall ever laſt.

Lucia gave me a ſquare Gold Box, in the Lid of which was her own Picture. Our parting ſtruck me with a deep Melancholy, but ſhe either was not, or did not ſeem to me ſo much affected.

I LEFT with her Directions how to write to me, and ſettled likewiſe a Correſpondence with my Landlady. I propoſed to return to *Venice* in five or ſix Weeks, and I paid for the Lodgings before-hand for that Time. Such is the Confidence of Man, who knows not where he ſhall live or lodge on the Morrow. It would be Labour loſt for me to go about to deſcribe the heavineſs of Mind, the Dejection of Spirit, the Irreſolution of Heart, which attended this Separation. I am almoſt aſhamed when I recollect, that the great Source of all this was neither more nor leſs than a Dream.

IT happened the Night before my taking Leave of *Lucia*, and in few Words was this: I thought myſelf in a large Meadow, with a Bow and Arrow in my

Hand; at a conſiderable Diſtance I ſaw a Pillar, to which a white Eſcutcheon was affixed, and on the Top of the Pillar ſtood a large Goblet of Gold; I ſhot with a ſingle Arrow, and fixed it in the Eſchuteon; but when I went to take down the Goblet which I ſuppoſed I had won, I found a deep, tho' narrow River in my Way, too rapid to think of ſwimming over, and for croſſing which, I could not ſee either Bridge or Ford except at a very great Diſtance down the Stream, ſo that going thither and coming round on the other Side, ſeemed an endleſs Undertaking.

I TOLD this to *Lucia*, who ſmiled at it. The Impreſſions ſaid ſhe of our waking Thoughts, amuſe us in our Sleep. I too have dreamt, and my Dream correſponds with yours. But what Wonder is it our Thoughts correſpond? Thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by the Shadows of Things, are frequently deprived of the Subſtance, and then impute to the Malice of Fortune, what in Truth proceeded from their own Folly. This appeared to me ſo ſententious, ſo different from *Lucia*'s manner of ſpeaking, and ſo appoſite to the Subject, that in that Inſtant I deſpiſed my own Weakneſs, and ſo far baniſhed all Thoughts of my Dream, that I never asked *Lucia* how it reſembled hers. But afterwards it recurr'd with its firſt Force to my Remembrance, and like the Viſion of *Brutus*, rid my Imagination ſo ſtrongly, that I could never throw it of, by Reaſon, Philoſophy, or Religion. But enough of theſe vain Things.

THERE was nothing of any Moment happened in my Return to *Geneva*, where *Johnſon* had managed every Thing with great Prudence and Circumſpection.

I gave him an Account of all that had paſſed at *Venice*, and of my Intention to return to *England*, with which he was mighty well pleaſed; and on my enquiring how long he thought it might be before our Affairs would be ſo well ſettled, as to admit of my Return to *Venice*, he demonſtrated to me, that it could not take up leſs than ſix Weeks or two Months; for as all the ſeveral Threads which my former Occaſions had obliged me to ſpin, were now to be wound upon one Bottom, the Operation would not admit of a Lover's Haſte, without breaking moſt, if not all of them.

PATIENCE therefore was abſolutely neceſſary, and I began to frame to myſelf many Schemes of Amuſement, till my Buſineſs could be brought into ſuch Order, as ſuited the Project upon which I was Intent. At Mr. *Roland*'s particularly, I ſpent a great Part of my Time, and laid out a conſiderable Sum of Money in compleating a Cabinet of Curioſities by his Directions. I flattered myſelf that theſe would not turn to my Loſs on my coming back to *England*, and in the Proſecution of my Deſign, I happened to purchaſe a fine *Onyx* from Signior *Pucci* an *Italian*. Tho' theſe People are not very communicative, yet in ſeveral Viſits he made me, I did him ſo many Courteſies, eſpecially in preſenting him with a Book of Drawings, which had fallen into my Hands by Chance, that by Degrees I became much in his Favour, and he ſeemed diſpoſed to deny me nothing in his Power.

MR. *Roland* had told me, that this Man, who was very rich, was reputed to have a Secret for clearing all ſorts of precious Stones of Clouds and Milkineſſes. Amongſt other Jewels I had a very large white Saphyr,

which I bought at *Venice* for twenty Ducats, tho' had it been perfectly clear, it would have been worth ten Times that Money. This Stone I one Day ſhew'd to Signior *Pucci*, and told him frankly that I had heard he could make it perfectly bright.

AT firſt he was a little confuſed, but when he had recollected himſelf, he told me he was pleaſed with my frank manner of ſpeaking, and that ſince I had obliged him, it was but reaſonable he ſhould oblige me. Accordingly he took the Stone, and in a Fortnight returned it perfect. When he gave it me, he addreſſed himſelf to me in theſe Words: You muſt certainly be very much ſurprized at what you ſee, it will doubtleſs convince you of an Error you may have been in; I mean believing ſuch an Operation as this impoſſible; but have a Care of falling into another Miſtake, *viz.* an Opinion that this may be done by all ſorts of Stones, which ſo far as my Notion reaches, is impracticable. My Secret came to me by Chance, the Skill of uſing it by deep Obſervation and long Experience. I know, generally ſpeaking, what I can perform, and where it would countervail the Expence; this hath turned to my Advantage; my Secret in the Hands of a raſh and avaricious Man, inſtead of enriching, would deſtroy his Subſtance; and he would then charge that upon the Operation, which he ought to have charged on his own want of Judgment. If you have any Stones by you in which I can do you the ſame Kindneſs, I ſhall very freely ſerve you.

ABOUT a Fortnight after my Return to *Geneva*, I was much ſurprized on my coming from Church, to find Mr. *Fetherſtone* in my Lodgings, from whom I had not

not heard for ſome Time. We embraced each other, and when he had refreſhed himſelf with Chocolate, he gave me the Detail of his Misfortunes.

He ſaid his Affairs went on perfectly well, and that he was worth a conſiderable Sum of Money when his Ruin broke upon him like a Cloud big with Lightning, which blaſted all his Hopes. He told me that in the Year 1657, he had ſome Acquaintance with a Perſon who had lived in *Holland*, and had a Penſion from *John de Wit*, who was known by the Name of M. St. *Marcelle*. This Perſon did him ſome very conſiderable Services, and would accept of no ſort of Gratification.

Mr. *Fetherſtone* in the Courſe of ten Years had almoſt forgot him, when a Perſon came to him one Day on the *Exchange* at *Rouen*, and preſented him a Letter ſigned St. *Marcelle*. The Purport of the Letter was, that the Bearer would deliver him a Pacquet, addreſſed to a Perſon of Diſtinction at *Paris*, which he deſired might be ſent by a ſpecial Meſſenger, and that he would be pleaſed to give the Perſon who brought theſe Letters, what he thought a reaſonable Compenſation for bringing them from *Diepe*.

Mr. *Fetherſtone* having received the Pacquet, gave the Perſon five Piſtoles, and ſent the Letters by his Servant to *Paris*. About ſix Months after, it was diſcovered that this St. *Marcelle* either was engaged, or pretended to be engaged in a Deſign againſt the *French* King's Life. Upon this, the Perſon to whom his Letter was addreſſed, was conducted to the *Baſtile*, and a Perſon ſent to apprehend Mr. *Fetherſtone* at *Rouen*, who miſſed him but accidentally, and who conceiving that he

he was fled, made a precipitate Diſcovery of his Errand, of which when Mr. *Fetherſtone* had Advice, he thought it very expedient to fly in earneſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Confuſion this Step brought on his Affairs, he found Means to prevent any Body's being a Loſer by this Miſchance but himſelf, whoſe whole Fortune by this Means was reduced to the narrow Compaſs of a Hundred Piſtoles, or thereabouts. A melancholy Revolution this, and one that would certainly have overturned the Underſtanding of a Man of leſs Firmneſs; but for Mr. *Fetherſtone*, he ſupported himſelf under it with a *Roman* Conſtancy, and comforted himſelf, by repeating often this Saying, *That the Character of an honeſt Man was an Eſtate which Fortune could not take away.*

THIS Gentleman had not been long at *Geneva* before he diſcovered an old Acquaintance of his, whoſe Name was *Alonzo Perez*. He had been a Merchant at *Seville*, and Mr. *Fetherſtone* had frequently Bills drawn upon him. By Degrees they entered into a cloſer Acquaintance, and *Perez* entruſted Mr. *Fetherſtone* with the Care of ſome Jewels of very great Value, which he ſent over into *England*. His Appearance at *Geneva* was very indifferent, which mightily ſurprized my Friend, who had known him a very conſiderable Man in the richeſt City of *Spain*.

PEREZ quickly explained to him the Cauſe of his leaving his Country, and the Means by which his Fortune had been reduced, both the Miſchiefs flowing from the ſame Source, which was this. The Uncle of *Perez*, who had given 18000 Crowns for the Title of *Marquiſs* to the King of *Spain*, and who had been for many

many Years Farmer of part of his Catholic Majeſty's Revenues, was ſuddenly apprehended by the *Holy Office*, on a Suſpicion, as it was ſuppoſed, of *Judaiſm*, which ſo terrified his Nephew, that tho' he had acquired a great Eſtate, and was on the Point of being married to a rich Heireſs; yet he choſe to leave all behind him, and by the Favour of an *Engliſh* Veſſel eſcaped to *Genoa*.

THERE he received a Bill of a thouſand Piſtoles; but the Day after, having Notice that the *Spaniſh* Government would leave no Means uneſſay'd, in order to bring him back; finding alſo great and viſibly affected Delays in ſuch as ought to have delivered him the reſt of his Effects in that City, he thought himſelf no longer ſafe there; and therefore withdrew as expeditiouſly as he could to *Geneva*, where he lived in very great Privacy, and was not a little pleaſed to find there ſo faithful a Friend as Mr. *Fetherſtone*.

To him he communicated all his Affairs, and particularly informed him, that his Diamonds having been ſold in *England* to a Perſon in great Authority during the Interregnum, his Correſpondent had informed him, that he was very apprehenſive the Money would be loſt. Mr. *Fetherſtone* adviſed him not to deſpair, and promiſed him that he would make Uſe of the few Friends he had to ſerve him in this ticklish Buſineſs.

IT was not long before Mr. *Fetherſtone* introduced his old Friend to me; and as *Perez* was a Man of mighty good Senſe, much Learning, and great Experience, tho' not above forty Years old, I was extremely taken with him; the rather becauſe he had a ſtrong Tincture of amorous Madneſs, and talked as much of his Miſtreſs at *Seville*, as I thought of mine at *Venice*.

ONE

ONE Thing in his Conduct ſeem'd to me inexplicable, he had always liv'd in *Spain* like a good *Catholic*, he had fled from thence on an Apprehenſion that he was ſuſpected of *Judaiſm*, here at *Geneva*, he was a regular *Calviniſt*, and behaved ſo well, that no Body doubted of his Religion. My Curioſity on this Head got the better of my good Manners, and I could not help intimating to him one Day, that I wondered he was not tired with the length and Vehemence of a certain Dominican's Sermons, who having quitted his Order, and abjured the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, declaimed againſt them with a never ceaſing Vivacity.

PEREZ could not avoid ſmiling at my Queſtion, for he immediately penetrated the Drift of it. My Friend, ſaid he, you have a Mind to know my Religion, come we are not in *Spain!* I will therefore tell you my Sentiments freely, I have a Religion of my own, the firſt Article of which is, that I confide in God's Mercy.

I AM a *Chriſtian*, but as I am deſcended of the Houſe of *Iſrael*, I think myſelf obliged to obſerve the *Moſaic Rites*, which I believe to have a perpetual Obligation, becauſe I think them perpetually rational. As to Popery or Proteſtaniſm, tho' I have comply'd with both, I acknowledge neither, for I am truly a *Catholic*, holding thoſe Principles fundamental in Religion wherein all Chriſtians are agreed; and ſuppoſing that I may follow the *Moſaic Rites* without Danger of Salvation, becauſe they were obſerved by the *Meſſiah* and his *Apoſtles*, from the ſame Motive as I apprehend which inclines me to them, *viz.* My Deſcent from *Jacob*, and my Conviction of Mind, that they are perfectly reaſonable.

ſonable. Theſe Sir, are the Articles of my Faith, from which I believe I ſhall never depart, and for which the Inquiſition without doubt would have put me to Death without Mercy.

I LOOK'D upon myſelf to be very much oblig'd to the Gentleman for this Act of Confidence; for tho' as he obſerved, there was no Inquiſition at *Geneva*, yet it is very certain, the Magiſtrates would have look'd upon a Man who held ſuch Opinions as theſe in a very bad Light, as is apparent from their puniſhing *Servetus* with Death, for hammering out a Syſtem not very wide of this of *Perez*.

I DID not fail to give my Friend the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that nothing he ſaid to me ſhould ever prejudice him here or any where elſe; upon which he opened himſelf very freely on many Subjects; eſpecially the number of *Jews* in *Spain*, which he affirmed to be very great; adding, that the Superſtition of the People, and the Immorality of the Prieſts, were the grand Obſtacles to their Converſion; the Practice of the former placing the Exteriors of Chriſtianity in a very bad Light, and the latter inducing a Suſpicion that thoſe who were moſt zealous for its Propagation, were leaſt inclined to the Belief of its Doctrines, ſince their Lives and their Leſſons were ſo diametrically oppoſite.

WHILE I was amuſing myſelf with my Friends at *Geneva*, till ſuch Time as I could bring together all my Effects, which by engaging in ſeveral little Branches of Traffick, were pretty much ſcatter'd, I wrote, and receiv'd conſtantly Letters from *Venice*, till ſuch Time as I informed *Lucia* that my Affairs would be wholly adjuſted in a Fortnight; and therefore intreated her by the

next

next Conveyance, to ſend me whatever Commands ſhe would have executed before my Return to that City. But as it often happens, having ſuffered *Hope* to caſt up this Account, there was a very conſiderable *Error* in the *Calculation*; for after three Weeks Diſappointment of Money from *Lyons* on the one Hand, and of Letters from *Venice* on the other, I found myſelf ſtill at a Loſs, as to fixing the Day of my Departure.

In this Situation I was, when a Letter from my Landlord at *Venice* Thunder ſtruck me at once. It ran in a Stile of high Reſentment for my having carried on, as he expreſſed it, a very ſuſpicious Correſpondence at his Houſe with a married Woman; that a Week before Mrs.——'s Brother and Husband had arrived, with whom ſhe was ſailed for *England*. The Evening before her Departure, ſhe ſent, as he acquainted me, a Letter for me, encloſed in one for his Wife, which ſhe entreated might be carefully tranſmitted me; becauſe ſhe was afraid it would be a long Time before an Opportunity would offer of writing to me again; but as he thought it a great Indignity put on his Wife, he had commanded her to burn it in his Preſence, which ſhe had accordingly done; he concluded with deſiring me to trouble him with no more Letters, and if I came again to *Venice*, not to find the Way to his Houſe.

The oddneſs of the Matter, and the Rudeneſs of its Form, made this Letter appear to me in the Light of a Sentence of Deſtruction; it took from me all Hopes at preſent, and not only ſo, but in ſome ſort deprived me of all Expectancy of Hope, a Circumſtance which ſunk me below even a Slave at *Algiers*. I determined how-

however to conceal this Misfortune as carefully as if it had been a Crime, and notwithſtanding the Treatment I had received, to write in Terms the moſt preſſing, and the moſt moving, it was in my Power to invent, to Mr. *Buſhell*, with a View to the procuring a thorough Inſight into this dark Affair. Accordingly that very Evening I wrote near a Sheet of Paper in the firſt flow of my Diſtraction, and in a Tenderneſs of Stile and Thought, which I never remember but with Regret.

'TILL I could receive an Anſwer, I determined to exert the utmoſt Force of my Philoſophy, in preſerving ſuch an Evenneſs of Temper, as might not only keep my Secret from being known, but from being ſuſpected, even by *Johnſon*, who knew my Diſpoſition, and the Situation of my Affairs ſo very well.

THE better to ſucceed in this Scheme, I ſent to invite my Friend *Perez* to come and paſs a Day with me, which he very readily did, having already formed in his Mind that Project to which he afterwards procured my Conſent. He came in the Morning, and till Dinner we diverted ourſelves with looking over ſome Medals and other Curioſities, which I was packing up in Caſes; and after Dinner was over, we fell upon the Affairs of *Spain*, when Mr. *Fatherſtone* who dined with us, took this Occaſion to aſk Mr. *Perez* ſome Queſtions, as to the Conduct of the Inquiſition. This inſenſibly turned the Converſation altogether upon that Head; and what our Friend, who was born a *Spaniard* ſaid thereon, made on me ſo great an Impreſſion, that after my Company were gone, I amuſed myſelf till late in the Night, with ſetting down the Subſtance of what I learned; to which I was the rather inclined, becauſe

cauſe there was ſcarce any Subject of which in the Courſe of my Life I had heard more, or underſtood leſs: The Proteſtants generally ſpeaking, declaiming in the moſt violent Terms againſt the Injuſtice and Barbarity of the Inquiſition; while on the other Hand, moſt Catholicks decline ſpeaking on that Head, or elſe endeavour to apologize for the *Holy Office*, by denying moſt of the Facts alledged againſt it, and by dreſſing in the beſt Colours poſſible, the grand Argument in its Favour. *The preſerving the Purity of the Faith, and preventing the Peace of Society from being diſturbed by religious Jars.*

THE Inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in moſt of the Provinces of *Spain*, towards the Cloſe of the fifteenth Century, by the Power of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who were directed in the Affair by Cardinal *Torquemada*, a Man of enthuſiaſtic Reſolution, and who had ſuch an Aſcendancy over the Spirit of the Queen, that he engaged her to carry his Projects into Execution, maugre all Oppoſition.

PHILIP II. who had a ſtrong Prejudice to his Father's Memory, ſuffered the Inquiſition to proceed not only againſt the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and two of the deceaſed Emperor's Chaplains, but alſo to form a Proceſs againſt the late *Charles* V. as a Favourer of Hereticks, and who had been ſuſpected of Herefy himſelf. His Son *Don Carlos*, his natural Brother *Don John*, the Prince of *Parma*, and ſome other Perſons of great Quality, took Fire at this, and expreſſed their Reſentments a little too openly. The Conſequence was, that the King by fair Means and much Interceſſion, pro-

procured the Proceſs on the Emperor's Will to be ſtaid, though he ſuffered one of his Chaplains to be burnt alive, together with the Bones of the other, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* ſaving himſelf by an Appeal to *Rome*.

As for the Princes, they were for the preſent obliged to retire from Court, and the Inquiſition purſued them with unrelenting Hatred to the laſt Hour of their Lives. Sanctifying the Death of *Don Carlos* by their Decree, and acting on all other Occaſions with ſuch Fierceneſs, that King *Philip*, with all his Policy and Reſolution, had much ado to reſtrain them within any Bounds.

From the Time of his Death, having had leſs able Princes to deal with, they have puſh'd their Authority ſtill farther, and have preſumed not only to cenſure, but to puniſh Kings of *Spain*, while on the Throne. As for Inſtance, *Philip* III. who having been ſo far moved by the Cries of the Condemned, at an *Auto de Fe*, as to ſay, *How hard for Men to die for their Belief, a Thing which they cannot help!* The Inquiſitor General being informed of it, ſent to acquaint him, that the Holy Office expected Satisfaction; nor would he deſiſt till the King conſented to have ſome Ounces of his Blood drawn from his Arm, which the Executioner of the *Holy Office* threw into the Fire before the Inquiſitor-General, and his Officers.

In *Portugal* they formed a Proceſs againſt the Infant *Don Juan*; but their Behaviour towards the Duke of *Braganza*, after he aſſumed the Regal Dignity, was ſtill more extraordinary. He was call'd *John* the IVth; and as he owed his Crown to the People, ſo there never lived a Prince who was more truly the Father of his People. On this Account he was no great Friend to the Inqui-

ſition. The Practice of the Holy Office in ſeizing at once the Perſon, and the Effects of thoſe whom they ſuſpected, ſeem'd to him not only unjuſt and unreaſonable, but even highly prejudicial to the State. He therefore publiſhed an Edict, whereby he poſitively forbid all ſuch Confiſcations for the future.

THE *Holy Office* therefore apply'd themſelves to the *Pope*, who thought fit to redreſs what they call'd a Grievance, though he refuſed, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing Inſtances of his moſt Chriſtian, as well as his *Portugueſe* Majeſty, to furniſh *Portugal*, or any of its Dominions with Biſhops, though for Want of them the People were in Danger of becoming *Heathens*. The Relief he gave the *Inquiſitors* was this: He by a *Brief* directed the former Method of Confiſcation to take Place, declaring, that whoever oppos'd it, ſhould ſtand excommunicated *ipſo facto*.

THE Inquiſitors, as ſoon as they had this *Brief*, went directly with it to the King, whom they met on his Return from Chapel. When he had read the *Brief*, he demanded of them to whoſe Uſe they pretended to convert the Goods of their Priſoners; they anſwered, to his Majeſty's Uſe. Very well, ſaid the King; then let the *Brief* be punctually obeyed; direct your Officers, when they ſeize, to make always exact Inventories of thoſe which you ſay are to be my Goods, and let them deliver them together with the Goods themſelves, to my *Aſſignees*, whom I declare to be the next of Kin, to the Priſoners; and my Pleaſure is, that they enjoy them as a Gift from the Crown. While the King lived, they durſt not diſpute his Orders; but as ſoon as he expired, the Inquiſitors told the Queen, and the Infants *Alphonſo* and

and *Peter*, that his Majeſty had incurr'd the Guilt of Excommunication, and could not be buried till they thought fit to abſolve the *Dead Body*, which they did in the Preſence of the Queen and Royal Family, with much Solemnity.

THE Means by which the *Holy Office* maintain ſo abſolute a Dominion in *Spain* and *Portugal*, are theſe. Firſt, their being ſupported on all Occaſions by the Papal Authority, which on the other Hand is exceedingly fortify'd by the Authority of the Inquiſition. Secondly, by the Holy Office retaining ſuch a Number of *Informers* under the Title of *Familiars*, who are Men of all Profeſſions, and many of them of the higheſt Rank. Thirdly, the Aſcendency they maintain over the Minds of the common People, who from their Cradles are imbued with ſuch a Reverence, and ſuch an enthuſiaſtick Paſſion for the Service of this awful Tribunal, that it gets the better of all Sentiments of Religion and Honour, nay, even of that Tenderneſs which ſeems natural to the human Species.

As all the *Tribunals* of the *Inquiſition* correſpond with, and are ſubject to the *Congregation* of the *Holy Office* at *Rome*, it follows that the *Roman See* naturally protects theſe zealous and devoted Promoters of her Intereſt. To ſay the Truth, this is one of the fundamental Maxims of the *Roman* Policy; and without it, it is impoſſible to form any Idea how not only the Catholick Religion, but ſuch a blind Devotion for the Papal Decrees as reigns at preſent in *Spain* and *Portugal*, could have been kept up, eſpecially if we obſerve the Temper and Diſpoſition of theſe People, who are as knowing, as thinking, and at

the ſame time at leaſt as proud as any of their Neighbours.

THAT this is not Conjecture, but a Judgment eſtabliſhed on Facts, will appear from comparing the Credit of the *Pope* with the Power of the Inquiſition; for wherever we find the latter great, we ſhall find the former indiſputed, whereas in Countries where there is no Inquiſition, or where its Power is very much circumſcribed, the papal Authority is alſo kept within pretty ſtrait Bounds, even though the Prince and People are zealous Roman Catholicks.

IT cannot but ſeem ſtrange, that Men in good Circumſtances, and of good Families, nay, even Men of Quality, ſhould enliſt themſelves as Informers; but they have their Reaſons, and ſuch as in thoſe Countries appear far from contemptible. For firſt, they ſtand themſelves exempt from all Fear of Informations; they enjoy an extraordinary Liberty, and have alſo a large Meaſure of Authority through their Intereſt with the Inquiſitors. Again, they are privileged Perſons, and cannot be proceeded againſt in any other Court than that of the Inquiſition, let them do what they will, Murder not excepted. And though for very atrocious Crimes the Inquiſitors will vouchſafe to commit them to Priſon, and even to ſentence them to perpetual Impriſonment, yet that does not hinder their being found at five hundred Miles Diſtance from their Priſon-Gates; the *Holy Office* claiming a Power of being as extravagantly indulgent to its own Creatures, as it is ſuperabundantly ſevere towards ſuch as fall under its Diſpleaſure. Laſtly, the Familiars of the Inquiſition are extremely well rewarded for their Services out of the Effects of Heretics; for though it is pretend-

pretended that theſe are confiſcated for other Purpoſes; yet it is certain that the Office divides the greateſt Part of them amongſt its Attendants.

As to the Aſcendency which the Inquiſition maintains over the Minds of the People, it is undoubtedly one of the moſt ſtrange and unintelligible Things in the World; it is as if a Flock of Sheep ſhould be ſuborned to aſſiſt three or four Wolves in deſtroying their Fellows; it is as if Men could be wrought on by ſome Kind of Sorcery, to aſſiſt at the Immolation of ſome of their Fellow Creatures to an infernal Spirit; but ſtill, as it is an indubitable Fact, we muſt admit it, how little ſoever we can account for it.

My Friend *Perez* aſſured me, that in *Portugal*, where *Auto de Fe's* are more common than in *Spain*, the People not only willingly aſſiſt at the moſt cruel Executions, but do it with a frantick Kind of Joy, not to be deſcribed, and ſcarce to be imagined; perhaps after all, this very Joy may be excuſable, ſince if we attentively conſider it, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe the People are in their Senſes. On the Whole it is certain, that there never was any Judicature ſo odious, or ſo terrible as the *Holy Office*.

PEREZ had for his Rival a Perſon whoſe Brother was a *Familiar*; this Man aſked one of *Perez's* Servants whether he had not ſeen his Maſter read *Abarbinel's* Commentary; this Queſtion being reported to *Perez*, and he having compared it with other Circumſtances, it induced him to leave *Spain*, and an Eſtate of near two hundred thouſand Dollars. His Fears, however, were far from being ill grounded, for within *ſix* Hours after he quitted his Houſe, it was inveſted by the Officers of

the Inquiſition, who immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of his Effects, and proceeded againſt him as a Perſon whoſe Flight had declared him guilty.

THE next Day I ſpent in adjuſting all my Effects, being determined to quit the preſent Place of my Reſidence, though I had no particular Reaſon for ſo doing, neither knew I whither to go where I ſhould be either better received, or live more at my Eaſe. In the Evening Mr. *Fetherſtone* came and ſat with me two or three Hours, in which Space we ran over a great Variety of Subjects, and I remember that he was particularly concerned at the Approach of old Age, before he had made any Proviſion for its Reception. He ſaid, that when Want threatened, a Man ought by all Means to double his Induſtry, and inſtead either of reproaching Providence, or of pretending indolently to wait for Relief from thence, to ſhew a Diſpoſition of meriting the divine Favour in the Way of natural Cauſes, without vainly expecting Miracles never wrought in Favour of the Lazy.

WHEN he took his Leave, he told me that Mr. *Perez*, who lived on the other Side of the River, deſired that I would paſs the next Day with him, having ſomething of Importance to communicate to me. I readily accepted the Propoſal, and promiſed to wait on him as ſoon as I came from Church. When Mr. *Fetherſtone* was gone, and I had Time to ruminate on what he had ſaid, I plainly diſcerned that his Mind was under ſome unuſual Oppreſſion, and that, not without ſtruggling, it had delivered itſelf of theſe Reflections, which had either Reference to the Situation of his own Affairs or mine. With all my Induſtry, however, I could not penetrate the

the true Source of them; and therefore, as I found my ſelf little diſpoſed to Reſt, I reſolved to apply his Reaſoning to my Condition, in Order to form from thence ſome Judgment as to the Principles on which I ought to act in the future Conduct of my Life.

WITH ſuch Speculations I amuſed, or rather wearied my Underſtanding, 'till at laſt I was ready to drop aſleep, without being able, from all my Reflections, to form any more than this ſingle Rule: That a Man, whoſe Fortune is in Diſorder, ſhould never ſuffer his Thoughts to be diverted from the Means of ſetling it, to the Conſideration of the Methods of employing it when ſettled.

THE next Day I went according to my Appointment to the Apartment of my Friend *Perez*, where I found him and Mr. *Fetherſtone* diſcourſing together on Chemiſtry, at which I was ſurprized, for 'till then I had never ſuſpected that either of them knew any thing extraordinary of this Matter. Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſeemed to make very light of the pretended Miracles of that Art.

HE ſaid, that as to Medicines, he had obſerved the greateſt Cures done by Simples, and the worſt Accidents following from Drugs *chemically* prepared; that as to the Curioſities of the Chemiſts, they ſerved rather to divert and amuſe Men, than to inform their Underſtandings; and as to the Tranſmutation of Metals, he aſſerted, that Reaſon and Experience had convinced him of the Impoſſibility of the Thing, as well as of the Folly of thoſe who converted real Wealth into Smoke in the endleſs Search of imaginary Treaſure. He cloſed theſe Obſervations with a very ſhrewd Remark, *viz.* That the Profeſſors of all other Sciences began with laying down Self-evident Truths, or at leaſt ſuch Maxims as

were eaſily ſhewn to be true, whereas the Chemiſts began they ended, with Dreams and Chimeras; and inſtead of inſtructing their Pupils in the right Uſe of their Reaſon, endeavoured to deprive them of it, in order to fill their Heads with enthuſiaſtic Notions without Foundation, Connection, or the ſmalleſt Appearance of Veracity.

Our Friend *Perez*, who had really leſs Vehemence than is uſually found in a *Spaniard*, could however ſcarce bear this with Patience. Chemiſtry, it ſeems, was his darling Study, and he was almoſt as paſſionately fond of it as of his Miſtreſs. If I were not acquainted with you, Sir, ſaid he, to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, and did not greatly admire your good Senſe in other Things, what you have ſaid upon this Subject, would have given me a very wrong Idea of your Merit. Conſider, my Friend, that every Science hath its Defamers. With the *Libertines*, the *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Mohammedan* Divinity, ſeem all alike Fables. To the Wits, Mathematics is a dry, uſeleſs, and barren Sort of Knowledge. Poetry, and the *Belles Lettres*, are to Men of rigid Sentiments in all Communities, Trifles unworthy of Notice; and, in ſhort, we have known Men, who, like *Cornelius Agrippa*, have firſt ſought to acquire Reputation by addicting themſelves to univerſal Science, and have afterwards attempted to raiſe their Fame ſtill higher by perſuading the World that they had ſeen through all Sciences, and found them no better than myſterious Vanities. General Prejudices, Sir, prove nothing, becauſe they prove too much; and as to particular Obſervations, I am perſuaded that Chemiſts have as much to ſay for themſelves, as any other Tribe of learned Men. To them, Sir, Mankind owes moſt of thoſe uſeful Inventions which are the

Boaſt

Boaſt of latter Ages, and which, as they were unknown, ſo they were unhoped for by the Antients. What you ſay of Amuſements certainly does Honour to this Art, ſince Men of Senſe are then only amuſed when they ſee Things atchieved, for which their Underſtandings can no way account. The Tranſmutation of Metals ſurpaſſes your Faith, but the moſt intelligent *Spaniards* readily admit it, not from Credulity, but Conviction. You muſt know, Sir, that ſuch as are acquainted with the Method of refining the Silver at *Potoſi* in *Peru*, unanimouſly confeſs that Art brings Nature to mature in a much ſhorter Time, that precious Metal, than ſhe would otherwiſe, that is, without Aſſiſtance do; and I my ſelf can ſhew you an Experiment of a Silver Tree ſhooting out Branches of the ſame Metal from the bare Addition of Lead; though, as you ſay, this is of the Tribe of Amuſements, ſince it is ſo far from being attended with Profit, that the *Silver* might be bought at a cheaper Rate. However, this is not the Caſe at *Potoſi*, and where it is the Caſe, it ſtill proves the Poſſibility of Tranſmutation, which is nevertheleſs wonderful, nevertheleſs certain, for its being expenſive.

Mr. *Fetherſtone*, either not knowing how to anſwer theſe Arguments, or which I rather believe, deſirous of quitting a Topic that appeared diſagreeable to his Friend, turned the Converſation, by addreſſing himſelf to me. Mr. *Perez*, ſaid he, did not intend by this Invitation to diſturb you with our Diſputes, and therefore I take the Liberty of adjourning the Debate to ſome other Opportunity, when I ſhall have had more Leiſure to conſider and examine what he has at preſent advanced upon this Head. As I was extremely pleaſed with what each

each of them had ſaid, I would have had Mr. *Fetherſtone* returned to the Charge, but Mr. *Perez* alſo declined it; he conſidered the laſt Expreſſion of his Antagoniſt as a Mark of his being at preſent unprovided with Matter, and therefore from a *Spaniſh Puncto* refuſed to preſs him farther at this Time. Chocolate, therefore, was called for, and not a Word mention'd of Chemiſtry for that Day.

THE reſt of the Morning was ſpent in talking of our ſeveral Adventures, which had this in common, that without any great Miſdeed, each of us was become an *Exile*. *Perez* regretted nothing but the Loſs of his Miſtreſs, for the Dread of the Inquiſition had extinguiſhed in his Boſom all Love for his Country; ſo that without the Abolition of that Tribunal he could never frame a Wiſh of returning to *Spain*.

MR. *Fetherſtone* obſerved that he was alike baniſhed from *England* and from *France*, and from both by croſs Accidents, or rather by Miſtakes; yet, as he remark'd, it was eaſier to ſatisfy Strangers than one's own Countrymen; for, on his ſending an Account to the *French* Court of the Manner by which Monſieur *St. Marcelle* became known to him, he was immediately informed that he might return in Safety, for that this unhappy Man had given the ſame Account both on his Examination and at the Time he ſuffered Death.

AS to my ſelf, I took Notice that I ſuffered for the Faults of my Father, which I took to be the harder, becauſe at the Reſtoration all old Offences were waſhed away, and Thoſe received into the higheſt Favour who had been deepeſt in thoſe Meaſures which had driven the Royal Family abroad.

OUR

Our Dinner was slight, for our grand Repast was in the Evening; and this being over, *Perez* desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to acquaint me with the Business on account of which he had desired my Company. For my Part, I had quite forgot what he had told me the Evening before, and was therefore a little surprised when *Perez* mentioned Business; however, I joined with him in desiring Mr. *Fetherstone* to explain it to me, adding, that I should have been better pleased if it had been discussed in the Morning. *Perez* smiled, and said, it was a Thing would require both Evening and Morning Considerations; and then Mr. *Fetherstone* taking the Discourse, proceeded thus:

My Friend Mr. *Perez*, and I, had been for some Time considering of a certain Project offered us by a Gentleman in *France*, who is our common Patron; and as we are now at the Point of entering on its Execution, we were unwilling either to keep it longer a Secret from you, or to refuse you a Share in it, if it shall appear in the same Light to you that it does to us. In few words then, our Friends proposed that we should make the Tour of a Part of the *Ottoman Empire*, beginning with *Egypt*, in order to collect Medals, Stones, Manuscripts, and other Curiosities, for which there never was so great a Demand as at present throughout all *Europe*, particularly in *Italy*, *France*, and *England*, where for genuine Relicks of Antiquity no Price whatsoever is held to be extravagant.

Mr. *Fetherstone* making here a little Pause, I was going to speak. Stay Sir, said he, let me finish what I have farther to offer you upon this Subject, and you shall have Time enough to say what you please. You must

not

not imagine Sir, that at this Seaſon of Life I ſhould be fond of ſeeking Adventures in unknown Parts of the World, if I had not a very probable Proſpect of making myſelf eaſy, in Conſequence of my going through ſuch a Fatigue. I have a Friend at *Lyons*, who will lend me 200 Piſtoles, I have another at *Marſeilles*, who will furniſh me with as much, what I have of my own will make up the Sum between five and ſix hundred; my Friend *Perez* will venture the like Capital, and we are well informed of the Goods in which our Money ought to be veſted; we have likewiſe a Memorial, containing the fulleſt Inſtructions as to the Curioſities we are to purchaſe, we are neither of us unacquainted with theſe Things, and we have the ſtrongeſt Recommendations to the *French* and *Venetian* Conſuls; ſo that tho' at firſt Sight this Project may ſeem a little chimerical, yet it is in Truth as well founded, and will be as well ſupported as any Thing of its Nature can be. Our own Induſtry muſt indeed be the Sheet Anchor of our Hopes, and if we cannot depend upon ourſelves, it is in vain for us to expect Succeſs in this, or in any other Undertaking. As it is, my Fortune is Shipwreck'd, it can be no worſe if I ſhould be miſtaken in my Conjectures as to the Project before us; whereas if Things go right, I ſhall be ſure of paſſing the reſt of my Days in quiet in *France* or in *Italy*, or it may be in *England*; for I am not of Opinion, that the Government there will always purſue the ſame Meaſures which they have hitherto done.

As for me, added *Perez*, I have ſuch a Source of perpetual Diſquiet in my own Boſom, that Reſt is painful, and a State of Agitation only affords me Quiet,

by

by reſcuing me as it were from myſelf. It is this, full as much as any View of Profit, which hath determined me to take this Voyage. If I ſhould not ſucceed I ſhall ſtill have ſomething left to preſerve myſelf and my Friend here, from being quite quelled by the Frowns of Fortune, and as Time is the Parent of many ſtrange Events, I cannot tell what, againſt our Return, it may bring forth; perhaps ſome Accident as favourable to me as that was unfortunate, which drove me from my Family and my Hopes. You have heard our Project, and our Reaſons for embracing it; now Sir, if Similitude of Circumſtances ſhould incline you to take a Share with us in this Deſign, we ſhall have a better Opinion of it, and ſcarce entertain any Doubt of ſucceeding under your Auſpice. It is impoſſible that you ſhould reſolve in a Moment; it will be a Fortnight or three Weeks before we ſhall think of quitting this Place; and therefore, if in eight or ten Days you will come to a Reſolution, we ſhall hear it with Pleaſure.

I THANK'D my Friends for this new Mark of their Confidence and Affection, promiſed to take the Matter into my Conſideration, and to acquaint them with my final Reſolution, within the Space of twelve or fourteen Days. I deſired Leave however, to ask the Advice of certain Perſons, whom I took to be proper Judges of an Affair of this Nature, declaring at the ſame Time, that how much ſoever I thought it might import my Intereſt, yet I would never think of doing ſuch a Thing without their Conſent; they readily gave it me, with this Caution, that I ſhould not deſcend into Particulars, or mention any of the Perſons concerned. Theſe Preliminaries ſettled, we parted, and I ſpent a great part of the

the Night in ruminating on the Probability of carrying this Project into Execution, and the Turn of my own Capacity for bearing a part in it. The great Point that perplexed me was, the forſaking *Lucia*, whom notwithſtanding the ſtrong Probability of the Thing, or rather Proof of it, I could not believe married.

THE next Day, as ſoon as I had brought myſelf into ſome Temper, for in the Morning the Reflection of what had paſſed the Day before, confuſed me not a little, I went to viſit Mr. *Roland*, who had been a Preceptor in the Theory, and my ſole Maſter in the little practical Knowledge I had of Stones and Medals. It ſo happened, that I came to him very opportunely, he was embarraſſed for want of a ſmall Sum of Money, which becauſe of a former Debt, he would not mention to me; it came by Chance to my Ears, and with ſome Difficulty he was perſwaded to make Uſe of my Aſſiſtance. We ſpent the Afternoon together, and as nothing was more common than for us to talk of the Affairs of the *Levant*, and the Method of carrying on a Trade there, I eaſily turned the Converſation on that Subject, on which my Friend talk'd as freely and fully, as if I had particularly asked his Advice on the Buſineſs then in my Head.

HE diſcourſed of the Cautions neceſſary for preſerving Health in the Oriental Countries, and for familiarizing one's ſelf to their Cuſtoms; he deſcribed at large the Virtues, Vices, and Manners of the *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Greeks*, and never did any Painter hit Likeneſs more exactly. He explained the Method of dealing with all theſe People, their reſpective Artifices, and the Means of guarding againſt them; above all, he recommended

mended the Study of *Phyſic*, as the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt Method of being introduced into the Houſes of Perſons of Diſtinction, with whom he alledged it was always beſt to converſe, and through whom it was eaſieſt to acquire whatever one ſought for in thoſe Countries.

From this Converſation I was thoroughly convinced, that ſuch an Expedition as my Friends had propoſed to me, might turn to great Advantage under prudent Management, and a ſteady Regard to the main Deſign. When I returned Home in the Evening, I looked over all the Notes I had formerly made upon Subjects of this Nature, planned out a Method for diſpoſing them into Order, and drew out ſuch *Queries* as might lead to a thorough Knowledge of all Points in which I had been hitherto deficient, for want of being acquainted with the proper Head of Inquiry. I likewiſe preſcribed to myſelf a Task ſtill more laborious, that of digeſting all my other Memorandums into Method, ſo that they might lie in a narrow Compaſs, knowing that if I ever carried this Deſign into Execution, it would be impoſſible for me to have the Uſe of many Books.

A day or two afterwards I went to viſit Mr. *Pucci*, whom I found in a very declining Condition, he had ſome Months before a Fit of an Apoplexy, from which with Difficulty he was recovered. Soon after he fell into a Dyſentery, which tho' the Phyſicians had found Means to alleviate, yet were they unable to cure. It was this Diſorder which had brought my Friend ſo low as to be ſcarce able to walk croſs the Room. In this Condition he had his Senſes as clear as ever, and ſpoke to me with his uſual Affection and Tenderneſs. The

Concern

Concern I was under to ſee him ſo weak, hindered me from mentioning any Buſineſs, and occaſioned my enquiring particularly into the Cauſes of his Diſtemper. The good old Man ſaid, that he believed his Conſtitution was quite worn out, and that he was thankful to Providence for affording him this ſoft and gentle Death.

Before I was aware I anſwered, that it was not impoſſible he might recover, for that I had known extraordinary Things done by taking daily a very ſmall Doſe of prepared *Opium*. Senior *Pucci* catch'd at this, and would immediately have the Medicine, which when I ſaw he was not to be moved I comply'd with, and having weigh'd out exactly three Doſes, he took one of them immediately, and the other two on the next ſucceeding Days. After the laſt Doſe, he was apparently much better, and by keeping to this Medicine in the ſame Proportion it was at firſt given him, he recovered wonderfully.

By this lucky Aceident I became exceedingly in his Favour, he would have preſented me with a Ring of very great Value, but I abſolutely refuſed it, telling him at the ſame Time, that I would put it in his Power to gratify me farther than the Value of that Ring. I then began to explain to the old Gentleman the Buſineſs I had at Heart, and he very kindly furniſhed me with all the proper Inſtructions I could deſire, and anſwered all the Queſtions I thought fit to ask. At the cloſe of the Converſation he gave me a little Note, which in three Lines contained the Secret of cleanſing colour'd Stones, the Value of which, if I had attentively conſidered, I might have ſpared myſelf the Pains of leaving *Italy* to acquire a Fortune.

BEFORE the Fortnight was expired, in which I had promiſed to give my Anſwer to my Friends, I receiv'd a Letter from *Venice* unſigned, which informed me, that my Landlord threw my Epiſtle into the Fire without reading it, that all I could write would meet with the ſame Fate, that *Lucia* was undoubtedly married; and that to make myſelf eaſy and happy, I ought never to think of her more. At this Time I ſteadfaſtly believed this Letter came from my Landlady, who had always profeſſed a very great Eſteem for me, but it ſeems ſhe really knew nothing of the Matter; on the contrary, as ſoon as he had burnt my Letter, my Landlord went to the Houſe of the Gentleman where *Lucia* lived, and in a Paſſion, gave an Account of the whole Tranſaction, which coming to the Ears of the Lady with whom *Lucia* lived in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip, ſhe had the Goodneſs to write the Letter I have juſt mentioned, in order to put me out of Pain.

THE next Morning I ſent my Man to invite Mr. *Perez* and Mr. *Fetherſtone* to Dinner, and before we ſat down to it, declared to them my fixed Reſolution to embark with them in the Deſign they had propoſed. They appeared extremely ſatisfied with this Reſolution, and we drank that Evening to the Succeſs of our Affairs, not indeed to a Degree of downright Drunkenneſs, but pretty much beyond our uſual Extent; ſo that it was thought proper for them to remain all Night in my Apartment, and the next Morning it was agreed that we ſhould immediately enter on the neceſſary Preparations for our Voyage.

HITHERTO I had ſuffered myſelf as often as I was alone, to be haunted with Dreams of returning to *Eng-*

land, and living ſomewhere in the Country with *Lucia*. But now as this appeared abſolutely impracticable, I reſolved to rid myſelf of theſe idle Notions, and to apply ſolely to the Point in Hand, as to that on which my Fortune entirely depended, having at preſent, little or no Hopes of receiving farther Advantage from the Effects of my Uncle, notwithſtanding the Juſtice of my Demand.

MR. *Fetherſtone* who had undertaken to negotiate with Mr. *Mountague* (for ſo the *Lord Chief Juſtice St. John* was called) after he had retired into *France*, the Payment of the Money due from a certain great Perſon to Mr. *Perez* for his Diamonds, happily concluded that Affair; I ſay happily, tho' he could not procure the whole Debt; but 1500 Piſtoles, for which it was compromiſed, proved a great and unexpected Addition to *Perez*'s Fortune, who till his Flight from *Spain*, had looked upon this in the Light of a deſperate Demand. All my Effects were by this Time either come to Hand, or remitted to Mr. *Hayes*, on whom I could depend; and therefore it was agreed that Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſhould immediately ſet out for *Venice*, to provide all Things there for our Departure from *Europe*, and that Mr. *Perez* and I ſhould follow him as ſoon as conveniently we could.

THIS Reſolution was executed almoſt as ſoon as it was taken, and we had no Reaſon to repent of having placed our whole Confidence in Mr. *Fetherſtone*, whoſe Integrity and Capacity appeared very remarkably in the Management of a Buſineſs ſo new to him, as well as to ourſelves. It is true, he had the Help of the *French* Memoir, which was very exact, as well as comprehenſive,

five, but with the beſt Inſtructions, it is neceſſary that he who is to execute them ſhould have Honour and Prudence, for otherwiſe they will be of little Uſe.

It fell out in our Affairs as it does in moſt new Undertakings, half the Difficulties relating to it were not foreſeen. Mr. *Perez* and I therefore were exceedingly ſurprized, when after a Stay of Seven Weeks, Mr. *Fetherſtone* informed us that it would much better anſwer our Purpoſes, if we made Choice of *Leghorn* for our Port, from whence in the ſucceeding Month there would ſail a *French* Ship for *Alexandria*, on Board of which we might enjoy all imaginable Conveniency; whereas according to our former Scheme, we muſt wait till the Beginning of the next Year before we could embark from *Venice* as commodiouſly. The Reaſons he aſſigned were ſo juſt, and our Confidence in him ſo great, that we inſtantly returned him an Anſwer conformable to his Deſires, and he thereupon quitted *Venice*, and repaired to *Leghorn*, for which Place, as ſoon as we received Advice of his Arrival, we determined immediately to ſet out, having had all Things for ſome Time in readineſs.

Among the parting Viſits I made to my Friends, one was to Signior *Pucci*, which becauſe it was attended with ſome Conſequences worthy relating, I will mention here. As during my Stay at *Geneva*, I had a great deal of ſpare Time on my Hands, I employed part of it in viſiting ſuch of the States and Principalities in *Italy* as lay not at too great a Diſtance. By Degrees, either on Buſineſs or Pleaſure, I ſaw them all, excepting only the Territory of his *Holineſs*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As my Intention was to inform myſelf

as thoroughly as I could of their preſent Condition, I conſtantly made a Liſt of *Queries* drawn from the Deficiences, Variations, and Contradictions of the Accounts I had read, and by ſatisfying myſelf on theſe Points, I looked upon it as a Thing certain, that nothing very material could eſcape me. Theſe at my Leiſure I reviewed, and from them compoſed *two* diſtinct *Treatiſes*, one in *Italian*, the other in *Engliſh*, of the State of *Italy* in the Year 1672.

THE former of theſe I had formerly ſhewn to Seignior *Pucci*, who either out of Regard to its Author, or becauſe he really had a better Opinion of the Piece than it deſerved, deſired to have it tranſcribed, that he might have a Copy of it for his own Uſe, which at this Viſit I gave him. The old Gentleman received it very kindly, and at the ſame Time he placed it in his Cabinet, took from thence a Paper, which he put into my Hands.

THIS ſaid he, my Friend, next to the Manuſcript you have given me, I look upon to be the choiceſt Piece in all my Collection; it is a Diſcourſe of a *French* Virtuoſo on the *Philoſopher's Stone*, and is eſteemed by the *Literati* of *Italy* a Maſter Piece. I think I cannot make you a more acceptable Preſent, otherwiſe I would endeavour to do it.

A DISSERTATION *on the natural Production of Metals, and of the Poſſibility and Probability of there being ſuch a Univerſal Tincture as is commonly called the Philoſopher's Stone.*

"AS Credulity is the *Mother* of *Error*, ſo *Scepti-*
"*ſm* is the Parent of *irreſolute Ignorance*, as
"homely a *Baby* as the *other*. *Truth* is only diſcover'd
"by

" by thoſe who are content to join the *Lights* of *Expe-*
" *rience* and of *Reaſon*, and who are as much diſpoſed
" to *receive* for certain, what of their own Knowledge
" they are *told* by *others*, as they are inclined to expect
" from *others* an immediate Belief of what they *affirm*
" themſelves. I have premiſed this for two Reaſons,
" *Firſt*, becauſe the little Knowledge I have hath ac-
" crued to me from practiſing theſe *Maxims*; and *Se-*
" *condly*, becauſe I intend to deliver the Fruits of my
" *Studies* to *others* in the ſame Way, and not by the
" fatiguing round-about Road of the *Schools*, wherein
" *Form* is ſo much prefer'd to *Matter*, that we are of-
" ten diſguſted with *Truth* itſelf, through the *Weari-*
" *neſs* we are under from the *tedious Journey* taken in
" *Search* of her.

" In all the Parts of the *Univerſe* we diſtinguiſh
" *Matter* and *Spirit*; by *Matter* I underſtand thoſe
" *groſs* Particles which are only fit to be *acted* upon;
" and by *Spirit*, thoſe *fine* and *lively Effluvias* which
" are properly ſuited for *Action*. A warm and humid
" *Vapour* ſteeming continually from the *Centre* of the
" *Earth* gives *Spirit* to all Things; which are the ſame
" in this Reſpect, tho' they differ from each other, ac-
" cording to the variety of Matter wrought on by this
" *Ætherial Spirit*, or *Mercury* of *Nature*.

" This *Breath* or *Vapour* paſſing over a dry ſubtil
" and ſulphureous *Earth*, it carries Part thereof along
" with it, becauſe all *dry* Bodies adhere to *Moiſture*,
" being forced by the *Central Heat* ſtill upwards, and
" meeting in the *Caverns* of the *Earth*, continual Re-
" ſiſtance, whereby it is often beaten back on that dry
" and ſulphureous Earth, which it at firſt gently touch'd;

" at last, after many *Sublimations* and *Precipitations*, " this *Mercury* is absorbed and swallowed up in the " *Earth*, and by the internal *Heat*, becomes the *Seed* " of *Metals*, of which the *Matter* as well as the *essen-* " *tial Form* is the same in all, their Differences arising " only from the *Accidents* of *Density* and *Colour*.

" As to the *first* Point, the *Difference* in the *Weight*. " Such as are called *imperfect* Metals are *specifically* light- " er, than those which are stiled perfect Metals; and " the Reason is, because they are composed of *gross* " and *heterogeneous* Parts, that is, the Bulk and Contra- " riety of the Particles cause in such Metals more *Va-* " *cuities* than there are in those composed of *smaller* " and *homogeneous* Particles. To make this perfectly " plain, consider that a Basket filled with *Apples* hath " evidently more void Spaces, than the same Basket " fill'd with *Corn*. Again, a thousand *ivory Dice* " might be pack'd up in much less Room, than if the " same quantity of *Ivory* was wrought up into *five* " *hundred* Dice, *three hundred* Billiard Balls, and *two* " *hundred* little Eggs. This Comparison, as it ex- " plains the lightness of *imperfect* Metals, so it shews " also how they come to be more brittle and frangible; " for in a Body full of *Vacuities*, any Stroke from " without easily occasions a *Seperation*, whereas it " would more closely *unite* a Body composed of *small* " and *homogeneous* Particles, as Experience also veri- " fies.

" The *Second* Difference is *Colour*. For if all *Me-* " *tals* could be made as *heavy* as *Gold*, and as *yellow*, " they would undoubtedly be turned to *Gold*. At pre- " sent we shall not enter into the Causes whence are

" de-

" derived the different *Colours* of *Metals*, it is ſufficient " to obſerve, that the *yellowneſs* of *Gold* ariſes from its " being compoſed of *homogeneous* Parts, and from its " *humid Spirit* being effectually ſwallow'd up in its " *Earth*. To explain this, let us conſider *Bread*, " which is compoſed of *Flower* and *Water* properly " tempered; when by the Operation of *Heat*, the *Moiſt* " is thoroughly abſorbed in the *Dry*, the Reflection of " the *Rays* of *Light* exhibit to us a *yellowiſh Colour*; " whereas when *raw* it was *White*, and if it had been " *over-baked*, it would have been *Black*.

" THIS then being a fair Account of the manner in " which *Nature* acts in the *Formation* of *Metals*, if " we propoſe to ourſelves to do the ſame Thing, we " muſt imitate her; we muſt take a dry ſubtil and ſul- " phureous *Earth*, and this warm and humid *Vapour* " or *Mercury*, and having cauſed the *one* to *imbibe* the " *other*, we muſt ſublimate and circulate theſe till they " fix in a *metalick* Subſtance, which by Degrees may " be dryed till it becomes *Gold*, and this the more cer- " tainly and the more expeditiouſly, if the *Earth* were " properly purified before, and the *Operation* performed " by a *Heat* ſtronger and more conſtant than that " proceeding from the *Central* flame.

" BUT our *Philoſophy* pretends not to carry Things " ſo far; it aims only at making a *Powder* fuſible, ſub- " til, penetrating, fixed, and with a Power of *Ting-* " *ing*. By its Fuſibility, it melts with a ſmall Degree " of *Heat*; by its Subtilty, it is render'd fit to enter " into the ſtreighteſt *Pores* of any *Metal*; by its pene- " trating Quality, it forces through them, and mingles " itſelf with all their *Particles* to the very *Centre*,

" rendering them fix'd and ſolid, by the Expulſion of " *heterogenous* Particles; and finally, by the Diffuſive- " neſs of its *Tincture* drying the *imperfect Metal*, and " tinging it throughout with the *colour* of *Gold*.

" It is apparent from what hath been already ſaid, " that for the Formation of the *Philoſophic Powder*, ſo " far tranſcending *Gold*, it is neceſſary to have a proper " *Spirit*, and a proper *Matter*. The *Spirit* or *Mer-* " *cury* of the Philoſophers is, as we have ſhewn, en- " cloſed in every Thing which *lives*; but then this " *Spirit* acquires a ſpecific Quality from the *Matter* " which it animates; and if we could ſeperate a *vege-* " *table Spirit* from the Matter in which it is envelo- " ped, and mix it with a ſmaller quantity of the *Mer-* " *cury* of the *Air*, it would operate on the *latter*, ſo as " to aſſimulate it, and make it become a *vegetable Spi-* " *rit*. But to cut Things ſhort, if it could be ſo con- " trived as to ſeperate the *Mercury* of *Gold* from its " ſubtil and ſulphureous Earth, we might by ſmall " Additions of the *Mercury* from other Things, greatly " encreaſe this *Mercury* of *Gold*, and then by a long " and ingenious *Proceſs*, managed with a proper Re- " gard to *Nature* in her *Formation* of *Metals*, force " this accumulated *Spirit* or *Mercury*, to unite itſelf " again with the aforeſaid ſubtil homogeneous and ſul- " phurous *Earth*, after which it would be no longer " *Gold*, but the ſpirituous, penetrating, fixed, and tin- " ging *Powder* which we want.

" Subsequent to this ſhort and diſtinct Account, " there is no need of running through the *Experiment* " of *Tranſmutation*, in order to ſhew how this *Pow-* " *der* would operate on an *imperfect Metal*; this we

" have

" have already done in the Deſcription we gave o
" the Philoſophic Powder; and we would equally avoid
" Obſcurity and Repetition. The Intent of this little
" Eſſay is not to divulge the *Secret* of making this
" Powder, but to ſhew that the ſuppoſing the Poſſibility
" of preparing it, is no *Abſurdity*, as ſome who affect to
" be thought *Philoſophers* would perſuade the World it
" is; and having done this, there is nothing more to
" be ſaid. Let him who would be farther inſtructed,
" conſider ſeriouſly this Account, and proſecute his
" Studies with an *humble Mind*, and a due Reſignation
" to the *Will* of *God*."

A Day or two before we were to ſet out for *Leghorn*, as I was talking to *Johnſon* of our Expedition, I apprehended by the Coldneſs of his Anſwer, that he had no great Opinion of our Succeſs, upon which I intreated him to deal freely with me, and give me his Advice in this as he had in other Things. He began with obſerving that I ask'd it a little too late; that if, as I ſuſpected, he had conceived an indifferent Opinion of this Project, his confeſſing it would only ſerve to diſcourage me, ſince my Fortune was already embarked; but Sir, ſaid he, it is not ſo, my Uneaſineſs is on my own Account; I find my Conſtitution much weaken'd and impair'd; I am apprehenſive that travelling will encreaſe this Indiſpoſition, and that inſtead of being for the future what I hope I have hitherto been, a uſeful, and diligent Servant, I ſhall be a Clog and Burthen to you. You will ſtand in need of a Perſon more active and more knowing than my ſelf, though you are ſenſible, Sir, that I am not wholly

wholly unacquainted with the Nature and Value of thoſe Rarities you are going to collect. However, Sir, that you may ſee I mean nothing leſs than to deſert your Service, I will propoſe to you what I hope may advantage it as much, or rather more, than my travelling with you, which in few Words is this. I will, if you think proper, remain at *Leghorn*, whither we are now going, in order to take care of your Effects, which are at preſent unemploy'd, and to receive and execute ſuch Commands as you may find it neceſſary to give me; but of this, Sir, you will think at Leiſure, for I pretend only to offer you my Sentiments, deſiring that you ſhould be guided only by your own. There will be Time enough for you to weigh this Matter maturely, which I recommend to your Conſideration ſo warmly, becauſe I think your Intereſt much more concerned in it than my own.

In the beginning of the Month of *November*, Mr. *Perez*, and I, accompanied only by *Johnſon*, arrived at *Leghorn*, where we lodged in the Houſe of Meſſieurs *Varillon*, *French* Merchants, where we were treated with all imaginable Kindneſs, and had all the Conveniencies we could poſſibly deſire. Mr. *Fetherſtone*, ſince his coming hither from *Venice*, had been extremely troubled with a kind of baſtard Pleuriſy; but as he was a Man of great Firmneſs and Reſolution, he was ſo apprehenſive of delaying our Affairs as well as his own, if he ſhould have Recourſe here to the Advice of Phyſicians, that he contented himſelf to the Uſe of ſuch ſimple Medicines as either Reaſon or Experience acquainted him with, in hopes that theſe, with the Help of a very regular Diet, might

might reſtore him to Health. But in this he was deceived, for by the frequent Returns of his Diſtemper, he was ſo exceedingly weaken'd, that in the Space of a Fortnight he was obliged to keep his Room.

In this Condition, I, without acquainting him, ſent for an eminent Phyſician, whoſe Name was *Ricardi*, who declared the Patient in a very dangerous Way, order'd ſome Blood to be taken away, and the next Day preſcribed him a kind of Poſſet-drink, which by its Smell and Taſte appeared to be ſtrongly loaded with urinous Salts; by the Uſe of this, and ſome oily Draughts, my Friend recovered ſlowly, and at the ſame time the Phyſician declared that it would by no Means be ſafe for him to think of going to Sea, eſpecially at this Seaſon of the Year; which induced a new Change in our Affairs, and engaged us to reſolve that Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſhould remain at *Leghorn*, and that *Johnſon* ſhould attend him. There was a Neceſſity of coming to this Reſolution, becauſe the *French* Ship, in which we were to make our Paſſage, propoſed to ſail by the tenth of *December*.

In the Time that upon this Occaſion I ſtaid at *Leghorn*, I was entirely acquainted with one Mr. *Wood*, the Grandſon of Capt. *Wood*, ſo famous for his many long Voyages, which turned, however, but little to his Profit. This Gentleman lived on a ſmall Fortune, acquired by his Father in the Service of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whoſe Son I ſaw more than once in *Italy*, and whoſe Grandſon was at this Time Page of Honour to the Elector of *Bavaria*. As I was always jealous of the Honour of my Country, I could not help hearing with the greateſt Satisfaction the Praiſes given to the late Duke; nor was I leſs amazed at my own Ignorance in this

this Point, who knew not 'till I came into this Country, that there was any ſuch Perſon as this Duke in the World.

As for Mr. *Fetherſtone*, he was tolerably acquainted with his Hiſtory, and for my Friend *Perez*, he almoſt adored his Memory on account of his being one of the *Adepti*, and who was generally held to have poſſeſſed, if ever Man did, the Philoſopher's Stone. Having collected from my Friends the beſt Materials I could, and compared them with ſuch Books as I could get a Sight of at *Leghorn*, I drew up the following Memorial concerning this extraordinary Perſon, and his moſt wonderful Adventures.

ROBERT Dudley, Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſo well known to the World by the Favour he lived in with his Miſtreſs Queen *Elizabeth*, cohabited for many Years with the Lady *Douglaſs Sheffield*, as his Wife, and had by her a Son and Daughter. The Son was called after his Father, *Robert*, and bred up with as much Care as if he had been intended for the Heir of his Father's Fortunes and Titles; and ſo indeed he ought to have been, ſince his Mother, who was the Daughter of the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, and the Widow of the Lord *Sheffield*, was no unworthy Match for his Father, and as certainly married to him as ever any Woman was to her Husband. But it was the Earl's Misfortune frequently to change his Views in Love, as well as Politics, and to ſtick at nothing to carry the Points which at any Time ſtruck his Imagination. The Wife of the Earl of *Eſſex* eclipſed not only the Lady *Douglaſs*, but his many Miſtreſſes; ſo that being deſirous to transfer his Honours and Eſtates to his Iſſue by this Lady who was with Child by him during

during her Husband's Life, he is ſaid to have procured the Death of that Earl; and thus, notwithſtanding his former Marriage, he took the Widow twice to Wife; Once privately for his own Satisfaction, and again to pleaſe her Father Sir *Francis Knolles*, in his, the Earl of *Warwick*'s, and the Lord *North*'s Preſence.

As for the Lady *Douglas*, he firſt offered her ſeven hundred, then a thouſand Pound *per Annum* to deny her Marriage, and baſtardize her Children; but ſhe refuſing theſe and all other Conditions, another Method was try'd, familiar enough to his Lordſhip, whereby ſhe loſt her *Hair* and *Nails*, and was ſo effectually frighted, that to ſave him the Trouble of any future Attempts, ſhe married Sir *Edward Strafford*, a Man of noble Birth, and of diſtinguiſhed Abilities, the Queen's Ambaſſador to *France*.

All this Time the young *Robert Dudley* remained under the Care of his Father, who though he took Care on all Occaſions to call him his *baſe Son*, yet in other Reſpects he abated nothing of his Tenderneſs towards him. When he grew up, he was ſent to *Chriſt-Church* College in *Oxford*, of which Univerſity his Father was Chancellor. There the young Man very early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſurprizing Abilities, rivalling while a Youth, the moſt knowing in the Univerſity, eſpecially in the Mathematics. What was ſtill more wonderful, he excell'd no leſs in Studies of another, or rather oppoſite Nature, *viz.* Politics, at the ſame time that he ſurpaſſed in his Exerciſes the moſt ſprightly of the Nobility.

When he was but a very young Man, he addicted himſelf to Chemiſtry, affected much all new Diſcoveries in

in Navigation, and, after his Father's Death, who tho' he again declared him his *baſe Son* by his Will, left him all that was in his Power, exerted himſelf in a very laudable Manner in the Encouragement of Trade, Manufactures, ſettling of Colonies, and whatever elſe contributed to national Glory. His Knowledge made him eſteemed by the wiſeſt Men, his Beneficence cauſed him to be ſurrounded with ſuch ingenious Men as were in Diſtreſs, whom he liberally relieved, and with whom he familiarly converſed; at length, in the Year 1594, taking to heart the many Miſcarriages of the *Engliſh* in the South Seas, he fitted out three ſmall Ships at his own Expence, determining alſo to hazard his Perſon for retrieving the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Seamen in that Part of the World, and for making ſuch Diſcoveries as might redound to the Service of the State.

BUT when all Things were ready, Queen *Elizabeth* abſolutely refuſed him a Licence, ſaying, It became her, as the Mother of her People, to prevent their laviſhing away their Lives in ſuch vain Expeditions; however, ſhe gave him Leave to ſail into the *Weſt Indies*, which he accepted, though he knew that Voyage could not poſſibly turn to his Account. At his firſt ſailing from *England*, he loſt the Company of his ſecond Ship, and never recovered her; however, he proceeded in his Courſe, and with his two ſmall Veſſels took and ſunk nine *Spaniſh* Ships, and in his Return engaged in his little Frigate a very large Ship of War, 'till ſuch Time as all his Powder was ſpent, and then out-ſailed her, tho' it was afterwards known that ſhe founder'd at Sea, and was loſt with all her Crew. In 1595, he returned ſafe to *London*, and was ſome time after knighted.

DURING

DURING the reſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by encouraging to the utmoſt of his Power all the new Branches of Trade which were opened by our Merchants, either to the Eaſt or Weſt. He married the Lady *Alice*, by whom he had two Daughters, and for ought I know other Children. On King *James*'s coming to the Crown, he attempted in the Court of *Star-chamber* to prove the Legitimacy of his Birth. To this Purpoſe, his Mother, the Lady *Douglaſs*, was examin'd, who depoſed, that ſhe was lawfully and ſolemnly married at *Aſher* in the County of *Surry*, to the Earl of *Leceiſter*, in the Preſence of Sir *Edward Horſey*, who gave her in Marriage, *Robert Sheffield*, Eſq; and eight other Perſons. It appeared likewiſe in Evidence, that the Ring with which ſhe was married, was ſet with five pointed Diamonds, and a Table Diamond; which Ring had been given to the Earl of *Leiceſter* by the old Earl of *Pembroke*, with this Injunction, never to part with it but to the Lady he made his Wife. The Lady *Parker* depoſed at the ſame time, that ſhe had ſeen and read at the very Time it was delivered to the Lady *Douglaſs*, a Letter felicitating her on the Birth of her Son *Robert*, ſubſcribed, Your loving Huſband, *Leiceſter*.

BUT on a ſudden the King ſent an Order to ſtay all Proceedings in this Cauſe, and forbid the Publication of any of the Depoſitions. Soon after an Information was exhibited againſt ſuch as had been examined for entering into a Conſpiracy againſt the Honour of *Lettice* Counteſs of *Leiceſter*; whereupon Sir *Robert Dudley* reſolved to leave his native Country.

WITH

With this View he procured a Licence to travel for three Years, though he certainly intended not to return ſo early at leaſt, if at all. He took with him the Daughter of Sir *Robert Southwell*, and left his Wife, by whom he had two Daughters, behind him, with her Children. Travelling into *Italy*, after viſiting other Courts, he ſettled at that of the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, where he lived with ſuch Luſtre, that it was currently reported, and generally believed, he either had the Philoſopher's Stone, or ſome other Secret of the ſame, though it might be of an inferior Nature. Here it was that he made a grand Diſplay of his vaſt Abilities in the practical Mathematics, by projecting the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Leghorn*, for Thoſe who pretend it was built by him, are in a prodigious Error.

It anciently belonged to the *Piſans*, and was by them rendered a commodious Port, and a tolerable City; falling into the Hands of the *Florentines*, it ſunk into a very low Condition; from whence it was recovered by the Interpoſition of Sir *Robert Dudley*, who contrived a Method of cleanſing the Marſhes, and thereby amending the Air, the Unwholeſomeneſs of which had been the chief Occaſion of its Deſertion. He likewiſe adviſed the declaring it a *Free Port*, and pointed out the vaſt Advantages which would accrue to the Grand Duke thereby. One grand Objection that he overcame was this, that even according to his own Project the Port of *Leghorn*, however fair in Shew, would never be capable of receiving large Ships; and if theſe again were ſuffered to ride in the Road, they would not be under the Command of the Guns from the Fort; ſo that after a vaſt Expence the Grand Duke would have no Security of

ſeeing

ſeeing any Part of his Money return'd, but lye in a Manner at the Mercy of Strangers.

Sir *Robert* obſerved that it was on this very Situation he built all his Hopes, that what was called Want of Security, was the beſt Security in the World, for it would induce Traders to anchor there rather than in any other Port. Two other Things he adviſed, which have been pretty well kept up to, *viz.* the laying but one Piaſter on a Bale of Goods, let its Bulk or Value be what it will; the other, that *Meſſieurs* the *Inquiſitors* would be pleaſed to wink at Strangers, and not pretend to inquire into the Religion of Thoſe who came to do their Buſineſs, and not to make or be made Proſelytes. This Nobleman afterwards built a very fine Houſe at *Florence*, where he was very conſpicuouſly the Patron of the Learned, the Induſtrious, and the Ingenious. For his rare Merit the Emperor *Ferdinand* the IId, created him a Duke of the *Holy Roman Empire*. The *Engliſh* generally ſtile him Duke of *Northumberland*, but the Inhabitants of the Country called him Duke *de Berlich*. But it is now Time to return to his Affairs in *England*.

He had not been long out of the Kingdom before the Enemies of his Family procured a privy Seal to recall him; which he not obeying, his Eſtates were ſeized. Afterwards, however, Prince *Henry* having a Mind to purchaſe the Caſtle of *Kenilworth*, and Lands belonging thereto, Sir *Robert* was treated with in order to part with his Right, which for *fourteen thouſand five hundred* Pounds he conſented to do, though the Purchaſe was worth *forty* thouſand. His Highneſs had thereupon Poſſeſſion given him, yet Sir *Robert Dudley* never received one Shilling. *Three thouſand* Pounds, Part of the Purchaſe

Money, was paid to an *Engliſh* Merchant who failed; and Prince *Henry* dying, the Eſtate deſcended to Prince *Charles*, and all Hopes of the Money were loſt.

In the Year 1621, however, a new Agreement was made with the Lady *Alice*, Wife to Sir *Robert Dudley*; in Conſequence of which, an Act of Parliament paſſed to enable her to convey all his Eſtates as if ſhe was a ſingle Woman, and legally poſſeſſed of them, in Conſideration of certain perpetual Annuities granted to her and her Daughters; which, however, neither ſhe nor they ever received. But a long Time afterwards, I think, after the breaking out of the *Civil War*, this Lady, who was ſtill living, was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, created a Dutcheſs, with Precedency to her ſelf and Daughters, according to the Patent granted by the Emperor *Ferdinand* to her Huſband. Theſe two Daughters, *viz.* the Lady *Catherine*, and the Lady *Anne* were married, the former to Sir *Richard Leveſon*, the latter to Sir *Robert Holbourn*.

This Duke, who ſpent the reſt of his Life for the moſt part at *Florence*, had Iſſue two Sons, and ſeveral Daughters, by the Lady he carried from *England*. The eldeſt of theſe Sons ſucceeded him in his Title, the ſecond was an Eccleſiaſtick in *France*; his Daughters married Perſons of great Quality, and the eldeſt of them was at this Time living, being married for the ſecond Time to the Marquis *Paleoti*, by whom ſhe has Iſſue. The preſent Duke of *Northumberland*, as he is called, was formerly High Steward to the Queen of *Sweden*, from whom he had a Penſion of ſix hundred Crowns *per Annum*.

He alſo hath two Sons, but is not eſteemed rich, and therefore I think the *Engliſh* do not pay him much Court. I have known many who took him for a Knight-Errant, and a Man of no Birth. This ſtrange Inaccuracy amongſt our Countrymen makes Strangers conceive oddly of them; and indeed not without Reaſon. For undoubtedly, never any Man was worſe treated than Sir *Robert Dudley*, who was puniſhed for the Crimes of his Father, contrary to the Law of Nature, of Nations, and of his Country. To deny therefore to him or his Deſcendants, thoſe new Honours which he merited from Foreign Princes, is a Mark not only of Injuſtice, but of Unpoliteneſs, or rather Brutality. But enough of this.

LEGHORN is a very pretty Town, extremely well built, and appearing ſo much the more beautiful, becauſe the Streets are broad, uniform, and ſtrait, all leading to the large Piazza where the Merchants meet. The Place is very well fortified, and the Citadel is of conſiderable Strength. The Mole is a wonderful Work, and of great Security to the Ships which lie within it; the Road is tolerably ſafe; but in truth it is the Privilege of its being a free Port which cauſes ſuch a mighty Reſort to *Leghorn*. Should any of the Grand Dukes venture to encreaſe their Revenues by breaking in upon this Privilege, we ſhould ſee it deſerted, as many of the Ports of *Italy* are already. On the Key there is a very fine Statue of *Ferdinand* I. Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, ſupported by four Slaves.

There were at this Time ſeveral very eminent *Engliſh* Merchants in *Leghorn*, viz. Mr. *Foot*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Sarle*, Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Hatton*, Mr. *Dethick*, &c. But our Buſineſs lay with *Jacob Francia* a Jew, a very

rich Man, and of a fair Reputation. Of his Nation there are great Numbers at *Leghorn*, who have a Quarter to themſelves, and are not troubled on Account of their Religion. There are many *Turkiſh* Slaves who go up and down with a little Lock upon their Legs, and are permitted to ply as Porters for their Bread, paying an Acknowledgment to their Patron. This is an excellent School for ſuch as intend to underſtand the *Levant* Trade, becauſe they have here greater Opportunities of converſing with Foreigners, ſuch as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*, who have travelled through the *Turkiſh* Empire, than any where elſe, and therefore, though we remained longer than we at firſt expected, it was with very great Regret that I left it ſo ſoon, before I had Time to make many Acquaintances, or could furniſh my ſelf with ſuch further Inſtructions as I thought neceſſary for purſuing with Succeſs the Buſineſs I went about.

In this City there reſided one *Jacobi*, who had been Captain of a trading Veſſel, but had now raiſed an Eſtate on which he lived very handſomely. He was a great Lover of Chemiſtry, and underſtood it pretty well. This Gentleman affirmed, that five and twenty Years before, I think in the Year 1646, a Perſon lodged in the Houſe of a *Jew* of his Acquaintance, the Man was a Stranger, without Recommendation to any Body, but of very courteous Behaviour, and who appeared to have more than ordinary Learning. This Stranger having heard of Captain *Jacobi*'s Inclination for Chemiſtry, and that he was very deſirous of knowing whether there was ſuch a Thing practicable as *Tranſmutation* of *Metals*, deſired to ſpeak with him; and having firſt obtained his Promiſe,

Promiſe, that he would ſay nothing of what paſſed between them 'till a certain Time after his Departure. He deſired the Captain to bring him a braſs Candleſtick, which having melted before his Face, he turned immediately into *fine* Gold.

I HAVE heard many ſuch Stories without giving much Credit, or indeed without taking much Notice of them; neither can I abſolutely believe this; but I have ſet it down, becauſe Capt. *Jacobi* was eſteemed a Man of Honour.

THERE was alſo in *Leghorn* one *Veneroni*, a *Venetian*, whom himſelf ſtiled a Phyſician, and whom the Phyſicians called a Quack: He had a *Noſtrum* for curing the *Neapolitan* Diſeaſe, which he performed with very gentle Phyſic; of which it was known the chief Ingredient was *Senna*, and a Diet Drink very pleaſant to the Taſte. He likewiſe cured Leproſies, and all extraordinary Foulneſſes of the Skin, chiefly by a Diet of Chickens and Capons, nouriſhed with the Fleſh of *Vipers*. The Phyſicians would have bought his *Noſtrum*, but he refuſed to part with it, upon which they decry'd him; however, he has got a great deal of Credit as well as Money. It was obſerved, that of late Years this Man affected to appear very religious, which ſome attribute to his Fear of the *Inquiſition*, to whom, on the leaſt Scandal, the Phyſicians would get him denounced, and thereby rid themſelves of ſo troubleſome a Rival.

THREE or four Days before we left the Place, my Friend *Perez* grew very uneaſy. He had at a Coffee-Houſe refuſed a *Jew* his Price for a Watch; and the Fellow being very importunate, he at laſt bid him be gone in a pretty quick Tone. Upon this the Fellow

turned about and told him, he was as much a *Jew* as himſelf; that he had fled from the *Inquiſition* in *Spain*, and that he ſhould not remain long at Liberty if he ſtaid in *Leghorn*. It ſeems this Fellow had been at *Genoa* when Endeavours were uſed to ſeize Mr. *Perez* there. We were much alarmed at this Accident; but it had no ill Effects, by reaſon the *Jews* of their own Accord obliged the Fellow to go immediately to *France*, fearing that he ſhould expoſe themſelves to the Reſentment of Strangers; and that if this Affair made a Noiſe, it might prejudice ſome of their own Relations in *Spain*. However, to rid Mr. *Perez* of all Apprehenſion, I got an Apartment for him in the Houſe of a *Britiſh* Merchant, where he remained till the Veſſel was ready to ſail. This is an Inſtance of the natural Inſolence of the *Jews*, which renders them ſo hateful where-ever they reſide.

THE Day preceding that on which we ſhould have gone on Board, a *Corſair* ſailed out of the Road, and carried with him abundance of Seamen belonging to the Ships then in the Port. I, who heard the Complaints of moſt of the Captains, and particularly of him with whom I was to ſail, took all the Pains I could to be acquainted with the Nature of the Buſineſs, there appearing to be in it the ſtrongeſt Contradictions in the World. For, on the one hand, it was aſſerted, that Seamen were no where better treated than on board the Veſſels in the Merchants Service trading to the *Levant*; and that on the contrary, in theſe *Corſairs*, or *Cruſals*, the Men were uſed like Slaves, detained ſometimes five or ſix Years, and at length ſet at Liberty without a Farthing in their Pockets.

THAT

THAT Sailors of all Nations ſhould quit the Merchants Service to go on Board theſe Privateers, was therefore to me the oddeſt Myſtery in the World, eſpecially conſidering the Infamy attending that Profeſſion, which hinders Sailors who have ever been on Board them from being employed elſewhere, for fear ſome of their old Maxims ſhould ſtick with them, and put them upon inviting their Companions to mutiny, which Experience, as well as Reaſon, hath ſhewn to be but too practicable in theſe Parts. In order to inform my ſelf on theſe Heads, and of the Nature of theſe cruiſing Voyages, of which I had heard ſo many extravagant Stories, I reſolved, as I was to go in the Afternoon to take my Leave of Captain *Jacobi*, to deſire him to ſet me right a little, and to give me ſome Idea of the Charms in this kind of Life, which were ſo ſtrong as to engage Men to leave an honeſt and comfortable State of Life for immediate Want, and the future Proſpect of perpetual Slavery, impaling alive, or at leaſt Indigence and Infamy, as long as they lived.

CAPTAIN *Jacobi* enter'd readily into the Matter, and gave me a very full and very diſtinct Account of the Management of the Cruſals. He began with obſerving that they were fitted out from ſeveral *Ports* of the *Mediterranean*, particularly from this of *Leghorn*, under Colour of cruiſing on the *Turks* and other *Infidels*; but in truth, to make Prize of all Veſſels weaker than their own. The firſt Thing, ſaid he, conſidered on ſuch an Undertaking is the Choice of a Captain, who, together with the Lieutenant, and other Officers, are to be Men of Experience, ſuch as have made at leaſt one Voyage before. For theſe Voyages laſting often nine Years, one is ſufficient for a Man to gain Experience. The Captain

and Officers being fixed, a Ship is bought, an old one generally, which is well fitted up, handſomely painted and ſixteen or twenty Braſs Guns put on board, beſides Patareroes. As to the Number of Men, it is uncertain, however, they rarely go to Sea with leſs than *one*, or more than *three* hundred. I perceive what you want to know is, how they come by theſe.

In the firſt place, the Captain and his Officers pick out a *dozen* or *twenty* daring deſperate Fellows who know not how to live, and theſe are ſtiled *Volunteers*. Next he ſtands out to Sea with his Veſſel, and perhaps hovers on the Coaſt of *Corſica*, or of *Sicily*, where he takes on board ſuch as are in great Fear of the Gallows, ſuch as have been condemned for Murder, Robbery, or Sacrilege, and, by the Intereſt of their Friends, are permitted to eſcape out of Priſon. By this Time the Captain has Soldiers enough; the next Thing is to get Seamen.

With this View he comes again into this Road, and ſends on ſhoar a Dozen or Fourteen of his Volunteers, who inſinuate themſelves into the Company of Sailors; tell them Miracles of their Captains Valour, Generoſity, and good Fortune; ſwear that they are bound by their Agreement with their Proprietors to return to *Leghorn* in *three* Years, and that at the End of this Space they propoſe to divide at leaſt *three thouſand* Ducats a Man.

As ſoon as a Seaman liſtens to his Diſcourſe, and begins to talk of Wages, he tells him they live on Board like Gentlemen, and at the End of the Cruiſe receive their Proportion of the Prizes; but that as they may at preſent ſtay ſome Time in Port, the Captain will readily advance a Seaman he likes forty or fifty Crowns, or to a very

very clever Fellow (ſuch a one to be ſure as the Volunteer talks to) *fourſcore* or a *hundred*, if he ſtands in need of them. Upon this, the Sailor deſires to be introduced to the Captain, who at his Audience hath three or four of his People by, ready to catch the Words before they are half out of his Mouth, and to ſwear to the Truth of all he ſays. This Interview iſſues in an Agreement with the Stranger, and an Advance of fifteen or twenty Crowns, which the Man is ſuffered to ſpend in running up and down *Leghorn*, but never without a Spy in his Company, whom he generally treats as his Friend.

When the Money is out, this Fellow puts him upon asking for more, purſuant to the extravagant Agreement made with him at firſt. Upon his Application to the Captain, he is very probably kept to Dinner with him, and invited to drink pretty freely after it; when he is mellow, the Captain goes to reach him the Money, but finding he has not much on Shore, he gives him an Order upon the Lieutenant for the Sum he deſires, and at the ſame Time another very expreſs Order, that after receiving the Money he ſhall be permitted to come on Shore, which however the Lieutenant conſtrues into a very ſtrict Command to keep him cloſe on Board, which he does not fail to do, without giving him a Dollar.

By theſe Practices the Ship is mann'd with *French*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Flemiſh* Sailors, for *Italian* Seamen are not ſo eaſily trapanned, and then they ſtand away for the *Arches*, where tho' every Thing they lay hold of is good Prize; yet ſo much Care is taken to look up all the Sailors Shares, that they ſeldom or never ſee a Dollar.

Dollar, or get a Shoe or Stocking of their own. The *Volunteers* are their *Guards*, and treat them like Slaves. After *eight* or *nine* Years the Ship returns into Port in better Condition than ſhe ſail'd, for they frequently break up new Veſſels to repair her, and make Uſe of all the Carpenters they can lay hold of *Gratis*. The *Seamen* are then turned adrift, and the *Proprietors*, beſides a conſiderable Sum of ready Money, have *three* or *four Hundred*, ſometimes many more Slaves, divided amongſt them.

To make this the more eaſily comprehended, the *Captain* was pleaſed to give me an Account of a very ſtrange Accident which befell Monſieur *Thevenot*, a very learned *French* Traveller, who returning from a Pilgrimage which he had made to the *Holy Land*, was taken on Board a *French* Saique, almoſt in Sight of the Coaſt of *Syria*, by a *Malteſe* Caper, that is a *Corſair*, fitted out from *Malta*, not one of the *Veſſels* of the Order. Theſe Pirates not only ſeized the Veſſel and Cargo, but ſtript alſo the Paſſengers, and amongſt others M. *Thevenot* ſtark naked, and the next Day ſent them aſhore with only a few Rags to cover their Nakedneſs. The *Port* they landed them at was *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*, where there happened to be two or three *French* Merchant Ships in the Harbour. The *Turkiſh Aga* thereupon apply'd himſelf inſtantly to the *French* Conſul, and told him, ſince this Inſult had been offer'd to his Maſter's Subjects almoſt within Sight of the Place, he muſt inſiſt on his giving Orders to the *French* Captains to give Chace to the *Corſair*, offering to accompany them in Perſon with three or four ſmall arm'd Barks. The *Conſul* could not avoid complying with

this

this Request, the *French* Captains ſpent the Night in putting their Veſſels in order, and in the grey of the Morning ſtood to Sea with the *Turkiſh* Barks. As ſoon as the *Corſair* ſaw them, her Crew cut the Cables, and crowded all the Sail they could; they chaced them however ſome Hours, and the *Turkiſh* Barks fired at them, tho' to no Purpoſe; at length they gave over, and returned into Port. As ſoon as the *Aga* had debarqued his Troops, he went to pay his Compliments to the *French Conſul* which he did to this Purpoſe. *I am obliged to you for the Aſſiſtance you ſo readily accorded me, I have done my Duty, and am not ſorry we did not ſucceed, ſince how much Villains ſoever theſe People may be, you could not help ſeeing with Regret ſo many Men, ſome perhaps of your Country, all of your Religion, impaled alive, a Fate from which I could not poſſibly have excuſed them.* The *Conſul* on his Part congratulated the *Aga* on his Integrity, and ſo this Buſineſs ended.

NOT long ſince a *Frenchman* of Birth, addicted himſelf to this Way of living, and became Captain of a Veſſel which carried *Livorneze* Colours. As he was a very enterprizing Man, he quickly rendered himſelf very famous throughout the *Archipelago*, having ſometimes adventured to land, and take Priſoners within a Day's Journey of *Conſtantinople*. At length it ſo happened, that he went aſhore on a *Greek* Iſland, where ſometime before the People had riſen, and put the *Grand Seignior's* Officers to Death. Conſcious of their own Demerits, and dreading the Revenge the *Turks* were about to take, the faithleſs *Greeks* ſeized this unhappy *Captain*, and made their Peace, by delivering him up to the *Sultan*.

He had made himſelf ſo terrible to the *Turks*, that the *Grand Seignior* had a Deſire to ſee him; he was then abſent from *Conſtantinople*, and the Priſoner was carried where the Court reſided. When the *Grand Seignior* had look'd upon him, a Man of the Law was ordered to tell him that he muſt become a *Turk*, to which he anſwered, *I am in your Power, you may put me to what Death you pleaſe, but God forbid I ſhould redeem my Body at the Expence of my Soul.* Three Hours afterwards he was beheaded, and his Corpſe by the *Grand Vizir*'s Order expoſed for three Days, after which the Chriſtians were ſuffered to inter it. Such was the Account my Curioſity procured me of the *Corſairs* of the *Levant* and their Affairs. Now to my own.

All our Effects and Baggage being on Board by the 8th of *December*, the Captain called upon us in the Evening, to deſire we would not fail to be ready before Noon the next Day. We ſpent the greateſt Part of the Night in converſing with Mr. *Fotherſtone*, to whom we promiſed to ſend from *Alexandria*, whatever we met of Value, with Inſtructions how to diſpoſe of it, that it might be without the Reach of Fortune. He and my Servant *Johnſon* on the other Hand, gave us all poſſible Aſſurance of their Induſtry and Care of our Intereſts, of which we were perfectly well aſſured, and I think no People ever did truſt each other ſo much, and found leſs Occaſion to repent of it. The Week before we parted I had taken into my Service one *Antonio* a *Portugueze*, who had been Servant for many Years to the laſt *Venetian* Conſul at *Cairo*. This Man was recommended to me as a Perſon ſober, diligent,

gent, one who underſtood the Language, and was well acquainted with the Country, which Character I confeſs he anſwered; but he had ſo many odd peeviſh Humours, that Mr. *Perez* and I were rather his Servants than he ours.

It had been my Study to put our Effects in the leaſt Compaſs poſſible, and with that View I had contrived four Cheſts, which being placed two on the Top of the other Two, made an exact Cube, and by the Help of Steel Rods and Rings were faſtened ſo, as to make a convenient Bale if put on Board any Veſſel, or where they were to paſs by Land Carriage, they were ſo fitted as to make two Bales; or if that was inconvenient, might be divided into four.

Besides this Mr. *Perez* had two large Cloak Bags to himſelf, and I one, with a portable Cabinet bought at *Verona* of a *German* Chemiſt for *fifty* Ducats. It contained a compleat *Apothecary*'s Shop, furniſhed with *Galenical* and *Chemical* Medicines; and beſides its Conveniency, was of admirable Uſe in ſtriking the *Turks* and *Arabs* with Wonder, the Doors, Lids, Bottoms, and Pedeſtals being all filled with Drawers, Cells, and other Conveniencies, which turning out ſuddenly, and as it were of themſelves, by touching Buttons fixed upon Strings, ſeemed very pleaſant and ſtrange, eſpecially to a Beholder unaccuſtom'd to ſuch Things. All theſe Matters, together with ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary for the Paſſage, we got on Board by the Time preſcribed.

On the 9th of *December*, about Seven in the Morning, the Wind blowing fair, the Captain came to hurry us on Board, we chearfully obeyed his Summons; but the

the Wind chopping about, he was in ſome Doubt as to putting out to Sea, but between three and four it blew fair again, and we ſailed with all the Tokens of a proſperous Voyage; the tenth, eleventh and twelfth, the Wind continued fair, but ſometimes it blew pretty hard, the thirteenth we paſſed the *Scheirches*. The ſame Day we ſaw *Maſata*, a Maritime Town in *Sicily*. The fourteenth in the Morning we had the Iſland *Gozo* in View, and in the Afternoon we entered the Haven of *Malta*, where Mr. *Perez* and I immediately went aſhore, and took up our Lodgings at the Houſe of one Mr. *Nicolas* a *Frenchman*, with whom alſo our Captain lodged while we ſtaid. It ſeems he had more Buſineſs in this Iſland than we were aware of; for the ſame Evening at Supper he told us, that he believed he ſhould not ſail in a Fortnight, or perhaps twenty Days, which determined us to viſit the Iſland, and gave me an Opportunity of practiſing firſt the Rules I had laid down to myſelf, as to the Method of my Inquiries during my Travels.

THERE are about the Haven of *Malta* three Cities, of which in the Order we ſaw them. *Firſt*, the City of *Valetta*, ſo called from the Grand Maſter who ſo gallantly defended the Iſland againſt the *Turks*, it was built *Anno Domini* 1566, and ſtands between the great and little Ports, extremely well fortified, and farther ſecured by the Vicinity of the Caſtle of St. *Elino*, which many Engineers have pronounced impregnable, yet I believe its greateſt Strength lies in the Valour of the *Knights* who guard it. It is built upon the very Point of Land, with a grand *Piazza* before it, under which is a vaſt Magazine of all ſorts of Commodities. In it the

the *Knights* are impriſoned for Offences, and in the midſt of it is a Tower, from the Top of which there is a fair Proſpect of the whole Iſland.

As to the City itſelf, it is as regular as the Nature of its Situation, on a Rock will allow it. The Streets are not paved, nor is it very neceſſary, they are a little uneven, except the two chief Streets, where live the Merchants and moſt eminent Citizens. There may be in this Place about 2000 Houſes, and 10000 Inhabitants, allowing five to a Houſe; theſe for the moſt part are low built, and tho' tollerably convenient, yet not beautiful to the Eye, by Reaſon of their flat Roofs covered with a neat white Plaiſter, which render them very convenient in the Summer Time, the People ſleeping there for the Sake of Coolneſs, happy in the clear and conſtant Temperature of their Air, which prevents their ſuffering by a Cuſtom which in other hot Countries would be extremely fatal. Towards the South Weſt there is a very ſtrong Wall with Baſtions, half Moons, and other Out-works, and beyond it about half a quarter of an *Engliſh* Mile, another Wall running from Port to Port. Within the Space included within theſe Walls, the Inhabitants of the Iſland in Caſe of a Seige, have Room to encamp when forced out of the open Country. All the Baſtions are hollow, that in Caſe of Neceſſity they may be blown up, moſt of them have triple Batteries, and ſome have four, well mounted, and in good Order.

They are in Time of Peace kept in excellent Order, and on ſome of them there are Convents and Gardens, which are very airy and pleaſant. The Cathedral Church of St. *John* is ſmall, but very fine, neither can

one Figure to one's ſelf a grander Sight than the beholding the *Grand Maſter* and the *Great Croſſes*, with the Knights of the Order at their Devotions. There are in this Cathedral ſeveral neat Chappels, in adorning of which no Expence hath been ſpared. The Palace of the *Grand Maſter* doth not make a great Figure, but it is well contrived, and well furniſh'd; there is in it a large Hall finely painted, and an Armoury which deſerves to be viewed, there being Arms kept in exact Order, which would accommodate 25000 Men at leaſt, beſides the little Armoury, which belongs to the *Grand Maſter*'s Houſhold, and is alſo very curious.

THE Infirmary ſtands on an Iſland, and the great Hoſpital is a noble Building; to ſpeak the Truth, the very Glory of *Malta*. Here the ſick are provided for much better than they could be in their own Houſes; there are but two in a Room, which is large and commodious, every Patient having two Beds for change, and a Cloſet with a Lock and Key to himſelf. The ſick are ſerved by the Knights in Perſon, their Diet is preſcribed by the Phyſicians, and brought up in Silver Diſhes; ſuch exact Order being obſerved, and every Thing being performed with ſuch Magnificence, as ſurprizes Strangers, and gives them a high Idea of the Charity of this illuſtrious Order.

THE Priſon for the Slaves is a very conſiderable Place, it is a fine ſquare Building adorned with a Piazza, and at leaſt 2000 Slaves belonging to the Order lodge therein, ſometimes there are three or four Thouſand; when theſe are out at Sea, as they muſt be when the Gallies of the Order go on any Expedition, then the Slaves of the Inhabitants are permitted to lie here,

otherwiſe

otherwiſe they lodge at Home. Theſe People, as at *Leghorn*, have only a ſmall Lock on their Ankles, and are permitted to go at large in the Iſland, it being almoſt impracticable for them to make their Eſcape.

CROSSING the Harbour, you go over another City, called formerly *Il Borgo*, but ſince the repulſing of the *Turks* in 1565, *Citta Vittorioſa*; it is not very large, built upon a Tongue of Land thruſt out into the Sea, at the End of which is the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; it may contain about 800 Houſes, and between 3 or 4000 Inhabitants; here are four or five Churches, and the moſt conſiderable Place in the City is the *Palace* of the *Inquiſitor*. Oppoſite to the Neck of Land whereon this City ſtands, there is another Neck juts out, upon which ſtands a third City or great Town, called *L'Iſola*, *i. e.* The Iſland, covered by the Caſtle of St. *Michael*, called ſince the raiſing of the Siege by the *Turks*, *La Citta Invitta*, i. e. The unconquered City. It may contain about 1000 Houſes, and between 4 or 5000 Inhabitants.

IN the Haven between the Cities laſt mentioned lye the Ships and Gallies of the Order, and a great many other Veſſels ſhut up with a Chain, ſo that none can go out without Leave; higher up in the Iſland ſtands *Citta Vecchia*, i. e. The old City, the ancient Capital of the Iſland; here is a Cathedral dedicated to St. *Peter*, the Biſhop hath a Palace here, and the Place is ſurrounded with very ſtrong Walls, and good Fortifications; tho' the Houſes are but very indifferent, and there are but few People of Diſtinction that live here, tho' the Place is large, and ſeems to have been formerly much better peopled than at preſent.

HAVING thus ſpoken briefly of the Cities or great Towns in this Iſland, I return to my own Affairs, and ſhall then give a ſummary Account of the Soil, Climate, Inhabitants, Government, Wealth, Trade, *&c.* of *Malta*, having taken extraordinary Pains to be well informed as to all thoſe Particulars.

A *Sicilian* Phyſician whoſe Name was *Sprotti*, and who was very intimate with my Landlord, undertook to ſhew me the *Curioſities* of the Iſland, which he accordingly performed. We rode on Aſſes, which carried us perfectly well, eſpecially for the firſt Hour or two; for at length the poor Creatures are apt to tire. We ſaw the ſeveral *Houſes* of *Pleaſure* which the *Grand Maſter* hath in *Malta*, the Grotto of St. *Paul*, the petrified Serpent's Heads and Teeth, the Salt-Pits, and other Curioſities, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This Phyſician, tho' a *Sicilian* by Birth, and educated at *Rome*, had ſpent the far greater part of his Life in *Malta*, for he was upwards of fifty, and had reſided thirty five Years in *la Valetta*. He had taken abundance of Pains in collecting whatever had been publiſh'd, relating either to the Place, or to the Order of St. *John*; ſo that if I had remained there three or four Months, I might have known all that could well be known in relation to either. His two great *Heroes* were the Grand Maſters *Valette* and *Vignacourt*, of whom he ſpoke continually in Raptures.

THE firſt of theſe, *John de la Valette Pariſot*, was a *French* Gentleman of a good Family, he was *Knight* of the *Language* of *Provence*. He was a Man who, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, had the *Signature* of a *Hero*; he had a Majeſty in his Preſence which raiſed him

him above Envy, a Felicity in his Conduct which afforded Malice itſelf no Opportunity of ſpeaking, a Candor in his Behaviour, which made him beloved by his very Enemies, Courage invincible, and yet ſo modeſt, that it never affected his Words, or hindered him from liſtening to his Prudence where a Shew of Courage would have been fatal. With theſe great Qualities, and the happineſs of exerting them to Advantage, in the Space of two Years Time he paſſed through all the Dignities of the *Order*, and on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1557, was choſen *Grand-Maſter* with univerſal Applauſe.

In the *eight* firſt Years of his Government, the *Gallies* of the *Order* made ſuch terrible Depredations on the *Turks*, that *Solyman* II. reſolved at laſt to rid himſelf of ſuch terrible Enemies at all Events. With this View he ſent *Piali* Baſhaw in the Month of *May* 1565, with a Fleet of eleven *Sultanas* to convoy a Land Army embarked on a hundred and fifty large Tranſports, which was to be commanded by *Muſtapha* Baſhaw, who had Orders not to ſtir from the Siege till he had reduced the Place. The Army debarqued on the 20th of *May*, not without conſiderable Loſs, the *Malteſe* Horſe behaved extremely well, and a Troop of *Sicilian* Banditti, conſiſting of 300 Men who had tranſported themſelves thither, performed Wonders, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Fidelity and Regularity during the whole Siege. The *Grand-Maſter* ſhew'd his great Wiſdom, by his abandoning all the Poſts of ſmall Importance, and withdrawing his Troops into thoſe where they might be uſeful. The Caſtle of St. *Elmo* was taken the 23d of *June*, after having ſuſtained five Aſ-

 ſaults,

ſaults, in which the *Turks* loſt as many thouſand Men. The *Grand-Maſter* then ſlighted the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and withdrew his Forces into the *Burgh* and the *Iſle*.

THE *Turks* next attack'd the Caſtle of St. *Michael* with incredible Fury, but being repulſed, they bent all their Force againſt the *Burgh*, where the *Grand-Maſter* was in Perſon; and having made ſeveral Breaches, gave a general Aſſault on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*; where, after a gallant Defence, they entered the Place, and fixed ſeven *Horſe Tails* on the inner Gate. Then it was that the *Grand-Maſter* put himſelf at the Head of the *Corps de Reſerve* of *Knights*, to whom with a very loud Voice, tho' at other Times he ſpoke very low, he ſaid, *I ſhall not put you in Mind that you are Gentlemen, and the Flower of* European *Knights, I tell you only that you are Chriſtians, and that Death is a Thing you ought rather to hope than to fear; come then my Brethren, let us die together in the Cauſe of* CHRIST, *like Men who have no Truſt but in him.* This ſaid, he fell upon the *Turks* with his handful of Men, and while this unequal Engagement laſted, all the People in *Malta* Men, Women, and Children, ran at once to the Breach with Weapons in their Hands, and drove the *Turks* from their Lodgments with prodigious Slaughter.

YET this would not have ſaved the Place, the *Grand-Maſter* having now a Town in Ruins, and not above 6000 effective Men, whereas the *Turkiſh* Army conſiſted ſtill of between 70 or 80,000 Men, had not on the 7th of *September* Don *Garcias de Toledo* appeared before *Malta* with his Fleet, and having waited till the

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Succours he debarqued, were ſafely arrived in the old City, he hoiſted Sail for *Meſſina*, leaving a Meſſage behind him, that as ſurely as he had viſited the *Chriſtians* now, in fourteen Days he would viſit the *Turks*. But they ſaved him the Trouble, for *Muſtapha* Baſhaw, having on the 13th of the ſame Month made a general Diſcharge of his *Artillery* in the Morning, embarqued all his Troops at Midnight, and ſet Fire to his Camp, after having loſt between 20 and 30,000 of his beſt Troops. After the Siege was raiſed, the *Grand-Maſter* immediately reſolved to build a new City on the Point of Land which ran out into the middle of the Sea; accordingly on the 28th of *March* 1566, he laid the firſt Stone in Perſon, over a number of Gold, Silver, and Copper Medals, whereon was his own Buſt with an Inſcription to this Effect; *He hath founded it on a Rock*, the People ſhouting all the while, *Long live the great* VALETTE.

ALL the *Chriſtian* Princes in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, promiſed to contribute largely towards defraying the Expence of this Undertaking; but the Money coming in ſlowly, and the Wages of the Workmen amounting to 2000 Crowns a Day, the *Grand-Maſter* coined ſmall Copper Pieces with this Inſcription, *Non Æs ſed Fides*, i. e. *Not Coin but Faith*; and upon giving his Honour that they ſhould be exchanged for Crowns, carried the Affair through with the ſame Expedition with which it was begun.

THE *Pope* to ſhew his high Eſteem for ſo deſerving a Perſon, offered the *Grand-Maſter* a Cardinal's Hat, who modeſtly refuſed it, ſaying, *Eccleſiaſtical Honours ſuited not a Man whoſe Hands were ſtained with Blood.*

Two Years after, *viz.* in 1568, on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, the Day on which he was choſen *Grand-Maſter*, *La Valette* yielded up the Ghoſt, behaving in his laſt Sickneſs with ſuch exemplary Devotion, that if he had not before acquired the Character of the greateſt Soldier, he would certainly have been eſteem'd from thence, the greateſt Pattern of Piety of the Age in which he lived. He was ſucceeded by *Pietro de Monte* an *Italian*, who on the 18th of *March* 1571, entered the City of *Valetta* at the Head of his *Knights*, and eſtabliſhed there the *Reſidence* of the *Order*.

ALOPHIUS de Vignacour, Chief of the Language of *France*, was elected *Grand-Maſter* of the Order of *Malta* in *February* 1601, during his Reign, the *Turks* had frequently a Deſire of invading this Iſland; but the *Grand-Maſter* being a Man of much Complaiſance, would not give them the Trouble of coming ſo far to prove the Courage of his Knights, for equipping larger Squadrons than uſual, he took now one Place in the *Morea*, then another in the *Archipelago*; the next Year he invaded *Barbary*, and by and by threatened *Egypt*, making an infinite Number of *Turks* Slaves, and drawing immenſe Treaſures into the Coffers of the Order. He did not however ſuffer them to remain there long, but expended them in fortifying all the Coaſts, and adorning all the inland Part of the *Iſland*.

He it was who releaſed the Inhabitants of *la Valetta* from the Slavery of preſerving Rain Water, which was all they had for Uſe, by building an Aqueduct which ſupplies the City with Water, and by an Engine of his Invention is forced near its Fountains into *leathern Troughs*, which being carried over the Rocks,

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fill without farther Trouble the Water Veſſels of Ships which lie in the Harbour. He repaired all the publick Edifices in *Malta*, reſtored decaying Inſcriptions, and having governed with the higheſt Reputation and Felicity 21 Years, died univerſally regretted in the Year 1622.

After our Viſit to the ſeveral remarkable Places in the open Country of *Malta*, Seignior *Sprotti* and I returned to the City, and found there my Friend *Perez*, and the Family not a little embarraſſed. Our Man *Antonio* grew enamour'd of a *Fleming*'s Daughter, who lived at next Door, which being diſcovered by her Father, he cauſed a Billet to be thrown over the Wall into our Landlord's Yard, inviting *Antonio* in the Name of his Daughter to his Houſe at Midnight, aſſuring him that the Door ſhould be left open, and a Perſon wait there to conduct him to his Miſtreſs. *Antonio* was too much a *Cavalier* not to be punctual; when he came he found the Door and the Servant as he had been promiſed, ſaw his Miſtreſs, and was conducted by her into a Bed-chamber, where by ſome Accident the Light went out; however he found his Way to Bed in the Dark, but in the Morning opening a Lettice that he might have Light enough to dreſs himſelf by, he ſaw in the Bed an old *Negro*, the moſt ugly that ever was beheld of the whole Race.

He flew home with all imaginable Speed, but found the News of his Adventure had out-run him; whereupon he raiſed a terrible Out-cry, vowing Revenge, and threatening Death to the Man and all his Family. When I came home, however, he became a little quieter, and told me at Night, as I was going to Bed, that his Paſſion

was all a Feint, that his Miſtreſs had ſtaid with him all Night, and that the whole was a Contrivance to deceive her Father. With this Story *Antonio* ſatisfied himſelf, and talk'd no more of Blood and Slaughter. Happy for him that our nēxt Door Neighbour was not a *Malteſe*, if he had, *Antonio* would have been diſmiſs'd to the other World without the Ceremony of ſuch an Appointment. The reſt of the Time I remain'd in the Iſland, I employed in drawing up the Notes, which ſerv'd for framing, when I had more Leiſure, the following Account of *Malta*, as to its ancient and preſent State.

It is, I think, univerſally agreed, that the modern Name of this Iſland is taken from its ancient Appellation, *viz. Melita.* But whence this Name is derived, is a Diſpute not ſo eaſily decided; the moſt probable Account, however, is, that it comes from *Mel*, *Honey*; of which there is great Plenty, and that excellent in its kind. The Learned alſo diſpute, whether it is a *European* or an *African* Iſland; Cuſtom hath carried it in Favour of the former, but Reaſon ſeems to be on the Side of the latter, ſince the People look like *Africans*, and ſpeak a broken kind of *Arabick.*

As to its Situation, it hath 35 d. and 50 m. North Latitude, and 14 d. of Longitude Eaſt from *London.* In the Summer it is extremely hot, as appears from the Complexion of its Inhabitants, though it is affirmed that all the Summer long there are Breezes which render the Mornings and Evenings not only temperate, but pleaſant; but in the Spring and Winter, inſtead of Breezes, they have very furious Winds, which take their Paſſage like a hoſtile Army through the Iſland, and carry all before them.

THE Soil cannot be ſtiled unfruitful, though it is commonly reported ſo by Authors, whereas there are ſome who cry it up as the moſt fruitful in the World; the Truth is, the greater Part of *Malta* is a down-right Rock, and conſequently barren; but the Ground where there is any, though it be but a Foot deep, is fertile to Admiration. It bears all ſorts of Corn, but eſpecially *Barley*, *Cummin* wild and ſweet, *Cotton*, eſteemed the fineſt in the Univerſe; alſo Vines, from whence they have *Raiſins*, as large as *Prunes*, both red and white, which bear a great Price; *Olives*, *Almonds*, *Figs*, the fineſt that can be imagined; *Peaches* as large as our ordinary *Melons*, *Apricots*, *Dates*, and moſt *European* Fruits. Flowers and Herbs every where abound, eſpecially Roſes, which in Beauty and Odour ſurpaſs thoſe of *Europe* very much.

To be more particular, the *Malteſe* ſpare no Pains to remove the natural Imperfections of their Country; they ſuffer no Dung to remain a Moment in the Streets or Highways, but gather it like Treaſure in their Baſkets, and immediately carry it to their Gardens or Fields. They import alſo Earth from *Sicily* as Ballaſt, and carry it to ſuch bare Places of the Iſland as are beſt ſeated for receiving Water as well as Sun-ſhine. By theſe Helps, and the Induſtry of their *Turkiſh* and *Mooriſh* Slaves, they raiſe yearly *eighty thouſand* Meaſures of Corn, of which half is Barley; *fifteen thouſand* hundred Weight of *Cummin*, and about *fourteen* hundred thouſand Weight of Cotton, amounting in all to the Value of 760000 *Scudi* or 152000 *l.* Sterling.

AS to Animals, they have the ſame, and the ſame Plenty as in other Parts of *Europe*. Their *Horſes*, em-

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ployed in carrying Burthens, and in drawing Carriages, are unſhod; their Aſſes ſtrong, and very fit for riding; to make them the more ſo, they ſlit the Side of each Noſtril, by which Means the Creature breaths more freely. The *Dogs* and *Cats* of *Malta* are particularly handſome, and for that Reaſon are much coveted in *Sicily*, and *Italy*. The *Grand Maſter* has a good Stable of Horſes for the Saddle and Coach, as have alſo the *Great Croſſes*. The Inhabitants of the Iſland maintain a thouſand Horſe fit for Service, or any Emergency, and which are review'd twice a Year.

In ancient Times the Inhabitants of *Malta* were famous throughout all *Europe* for their Skill in maritime Affairs, their extenſive Commerce, and for their refined Luxury, as appears from one of the Orations of *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, in which he upbraids him with being as voluptuous as a *Malteſe*. *Appian* informs us, that *Cæſar* had much ado to reduce theſe People when they had revolted; by degrees however, they grew low and poor. At length they became ſubject to the *Spaniards*, by whom the Iſland was transfer'd to the Knights of St. *John*, tho' an annual Preſent of a *Falcon* is reſerved to the King of *Spain*, as a Recognizance of his Sovereignty. The preſent People of *Malta* ſpeak a Sort of barbarous *Arabick*, are altogether *Africans* in their Manners, and are without queſtion as luxurious and debauched as any Nation can be. The Women are handſome, well-ſhaped, and for the moſt part very amorous, though they affect to be exceſſively religious, which hinders not their Huſbands from being outragiouſly jealous; and this being join'd to their natural Cruelty and Love of Revenge, produces frequently very direful Effects.

As to the Government of the Iſland, it is entirely in the Hands of the *Grand Maſter*, who ſtiles himſelf Prince of *Malta* and *Goza*. He is not, however, abſolute, but is in moſt Caſes aſſiſted by his Council, in ſome by a *General Chapter* of the *Knights*. The *Grand Maſter* at this Time was *Nicholas Cottoner*, a *Majorcan*, who ſucceeded his Brother *Raphael Cottoner*, who governed but three Months, and died 1663. He was a Perſon of low Stature, but a handſome Man, very affable and courteous to Strangers, who viſit him always as ſoon as conveniently They can after their Arrival. The Knights are diſtinguiſhed into *three* Claſſes. The firſt, ſtiled *Knights of Juſtice*, are obliged to prove their Nobility for four Deſcents; they bear a Croſs of Gold, with which They are not inveſted, till they have been abroad *three* Years. The ſecond are Prieſts of the Order, who bear alſo Croſſes of *Malta*, but not of Gold, without the Permiſſion of the *Grand-Maſter*. The third Claſs are ſtiled *Servitors*, and Theſe again are divided into *Servitors* of *Arms* and of *Office*; and the former take the ſame Oaths with Knights, and are capable of being admitted to the leſſer Dignities of the Order, which the *Servitors* of Office are not. The Knights are alſo divided into eight Languages or Provinces, each of which hath its *Albergo* or *Inn*, where the Knights eat together in Publick under the Government of one who is ſtiled chief of the Language. Of theſe the firſt is *Provence*, and the laſt *Germany*. The ſixth was *England*; and there is ſtill a void Space left for the *Albergo* of our Nation, of which there is alſo a Prior, who piques himſelf much on paying great Civilities to ſuch of the *Engliſh* as at any Time come hither.

THE Number of the Knights is uncertain, but there are generally ſome Thouſands, of whom eight or nine Hundred are uſually reſident in *Malta*, the reſt are at their Commanderies with their Relations, or ſerve aboard the Gallies. Of theſe ſeven belong to the Order, each of which is a fine ſtout Veſſel, carries twenty or thirty Knights, and about five hundred Men. Beſides theſe there are thirty or forty Ships fitted out by Licence from the Grand Maſter, to cruize upon the *Turks*, which they do with ſuch Effect, that the Order is extremely rich in Money, as well as in Revenues, which are held to be not much leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, of which thirty thouſand belong to the Grand Maſter. It is ſuppoſed that twenty thouſand fighting Men may be levy'd in the Iſland, and that there are in it not leſs than ſixty thouſand Souls. For the Maintenance of theſe three Fourths of the Proviſion comes from *Sicily*, which yet come plentifully to Market, and at moderate Prices. I will now ſpeak of the Curioſities of the Iſland, natural and artificial, and ſo leave it.

OF the firſt we may reckon the *Scorpions*, and as ſome ſay, the *Speckled Snakes*, which are now and then found in this Iſland, perfectly harmleſs, and free from Venom. Nay, it is ſaid that the native *Malteſe* are invulnerable from theſe Sort of Creatures where-ever they go.

ABOUT ten Miles from *Valetta* is the *Cala di ſanta Paolo*, or the Grotto of St. *Paul*, near the Place where he is ſuppoſed to have landed; though ſome will have it that he was never here, but that the Iſland on which he was ſhip-wreck'd is that call'd *Melita*, in the Gulph of *Raguſa*;

Raguſa; but this Notion is rather ſingular than probable. In the Neighbourhood of this Place they pretend to ſhew Serpents turned into Stone, as alſo petrify'd Eyes, Teeth, and Eggs, of Serpents, which are believed to have a great Efficacy in curing the Bites of theſe Sort of Creatures, and are therefore exported in great Quantities. There is alſo a Spring of very ſweet Water, which is ſaid to have riſen miraculouſly at the Command of St. *Paul*, for whom the *Malteſe* in general have an extraordinary Devotion. From theſe natural Curioſities let us proceed to thoſe of Art; and amongſt theſe I know none that deſerve Conſideration more than the Pleaſure-Houſes of the Grand Maſter, of which he has ſeveral.

BOSCHETTO, or *Monteverdala*, is the moſt admired. It ſtands two Miles from the old City, and is without queſtion one of the fineſt Places that can be imagined, that is, all Things conſidered; for though this Pleaſure-Houſe and its Gardens would make a very fine Shew in *Italy*, or in *France*, yet what is admirable, what amazes and raviſhes the Spectator is, to find it and them in *Malta*. On this Account I call them Curioſities of Art, becauſe they not only borrow little or nothing from Nature, but are on the other hand made in Spight of her; ſo that whereas elſewhere ſhe appears like a Queen and a Miſtreſs, here ſhe acts like an obedient Servant, or rather like a Slave, forced hither againſt her Will.

THE Caſe, not to deal longer in general Deſcriptions, is this, the Place Cardinal *Verdala*, who was once Grand Maſter of the Order, choſe for his Pleaſure-houſe, was a Rock abſolutely barren, and alike expoſed to the Sun and to the Winds; ſo that except its lofty Situation, it had nothing to recommend it; and, in the Eyes of any

any but Cardinal *Verdala*, this would have paſſed for an extraordinary Inconvenience, conſidering the Heats of *Malta*. But he was a Man of exalted Underſtanding, and had ſuch Ideas of Magnificence, that, by endeavouring to do it Honour, he had like to have ruin'd the Order. In the firſt place, he hewed his Palace out of the Rock, a ſquare Building with four Towers, having in the Middle a grand *Salon*, finely painted with the Stories of this Cardinal's Life. From the Houſe, towards the Sea, he cauſed the Rock to be cut down, ſo as to have a Deſcent from his Houſe through a Range of fine Pillars to that Part which overlooks the Sea, and affords a Proſpect of the neighbouring Iſland and *Sicily*. All this being performed, he had the hollow Part of the Rock filled up with fine Mould, brought thither in Ships and Barks; the Skirts of the Garden he planted with Olives, adorned all its Walks with Orange, Lemon and Citron Trees; of Flowers and ſweet-ſmelling Herbs there never was ſo great a Quantity any where amaſſed, but what gives an inexpreſſible Air of Paradiſaical Beauty to this Place, is the Diſpoſition of the Vines, which being planted at the Feet of the Pillars, turn round them; and being platted at the Top, form a covered Arbour of a Mile, opening, as I have obſerved, upon the Sea. In this Garden there is not only very fine freſh Water, but it is alſo put to all the Uſes of Fountains and Caſcades that could be deviſed by the teeming Imagination of a luxurious Cardinal. All the Apartments of the Caſtle are diſpoſed Terras-wiſe for the Enjoyment of the Garden; and that this Pleaſure-Houſe may be diſtinguiſh'd from all other Pleaſure-Houſes, its Battlements are ſurmounted by ſixteen Pieces of Braſs Cannon, over which, on any Solemnity, flies

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the Banner of *Malta*. There are in the Iſland many other beautiful Pleaſure-Houſes, but none comparable to this, with the Deſcription of which I will take Leave of the Place.

THE Iſland of *Goza*, which belongs alſo to the *Grand-Maſter*, is divided from *Malta* by a narrow Channel of the Sea; it is of an oval Form, about three Miles long, ſomewhat more than half as broad, and about twenty-one in Circuit. Its Coaſts are ſo ſteep, that one may look upon it as fortified by Nature. In reſpect to its Air, its Soil, and its Products, it very much exceeds *Malta*, it being every where wholeſome, pleaſant, and fertile. The Number of the Inhabitants may be about five or ſix thouſand, but they live diſperſed thro' the Iſland, and not in *Caſals* or Villages, as they do in *Malta*. The *Grand-Maſter* bears the Title of Prince of *Goza*, and its Commodities, notwithſtanding its ſmall Extent, yield annually about a third Part as much as thoſe of *Malta*. There are alſo on the Coaſts of this Iſland, as well as *Malta*, ſome Rocks and little Places under the Juriſdiction of the *Grand-Maſter*; but as they produce little, they are not worth mentioning.

THE laſt Day of the old Year we ſailed from *Malta* with a fair Wind, the next Day, and the Day following, we had the Wind ſtill fair, but a little freſher; on the third it blew very hard, eſpecially towards the Evening. On the fourth we had a Sight of *Candia*, and 'till Noon we had fine Weather, from thence, till Midnight, the Wind gathered Strength every Moment. In the Morning we had a terrible Storm, attended with what the *Engliſh* Seamen, who uſe the *Levant* Trade, call *Baſtard-Spouts*. Theſe are occaſioned by the Air's drawing

ing up into a Cloud a great Quantity of Water as it were with a Pump, which being carried a conſiderable Way in the Shape of long Tails hanging down from the Heavens, at length diſcharge all their Water either into the Sea, or into a Veſſel, if it is ſo unfortunate as to come in the Way. Theſe are called *Baſtard Spouts*, to diſtinguiſh them from the true ones, called ſimply *Spouts*, which are infinitely more terrible. Theſe appear like Pillars deſcending from Heaven, and in proportion as they drop towards the Water, the Water boils up to meet them. At length theſe Spouts dip as it were into the boiling Water, and having filled themſelves therewith, paſs along ſometimes with a very briſk, at other Times with an interrupted or languid Motion. It is ſaid that Ships of great Burthen have been extremely damaged by theſe Spouts, and it is conjectured that many ſmaller Ships have periſhed by them. The leſſer Sort, which we ſaw, happen uſually after Storms, but theſe larger Spouts are moſt frequent in ſtark Calms. On the fifth, the Weather grew fine again, but on the ſixth we had very bad weather, with much Rain and Hail. The next Day, by Noon, all was fair again; and it being the Birth-Day of our Captain, he gave a handſome Entertainment to all on board. The Paſſengers dined as uſual at his own Table, and their Servants with the Seamen and under Officers. Our Feaſt began about Evening, and laſted 'till Morning. We had very good Proviſions, and excellent Wine of ſeveral Sorts. But what diverted me moſt, was the Converſation at Table which was ſo much the more agreeable, on account of its being inſtructive, every Body taking Pains to furniſh ſomething worth hearing; and being as they were Men of different

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Profeſſions, and who had ſpent their Days in an active kind of Life, their Diſcoveries were above the ordinary Level, and deſerved not only Attention, but Preſervation. The Captain particularly entertained us, but not till he was thoroughly opened by Wine, with a very ſingular Story, which he had from the very Mouth of the Man whom it concerned: It pleaſed me ſo well, that I committed it to Writing, as a wonderful Inſtance of the Divine Providence in ordering the Affairs of Men, and as a noble Encouragement to preſerve our Spirits, and the Uſe of our Reaſon in the Midſt of the greateſt Dangers, out of which, if we truſt in God, and uſe the Means he has given us, we may frequently eſcape notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt Appearances of inevitable Ruin.

It is, ſaid the Captain, about 30 Years ago, that being in Company at *Rotterdam* with ſeveral Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Pilots, at an annual Feaſt, my Companions were very urgent on an old Man whoſe Name as I remember was *William Bontiko*, to relate to them his Sufferings in the *Indies*, which they had all heard much of from others, and concerning which they were very deſirous to have a diſtinct Recital from his own Mouth. The old Man was eaſily intreated, and when he perceived the Company ſilently attending the Detail of his Adventures, he delivered himſelf very gravely to this Purpoſe. In the Month of *November* 1619, I ſailed in Quality of Maſter on board a Veſſel of 1200 Tuns, bound for the Streights of *Sunda*. On the 19th of that Month, when we were in the Height of five Degrees and a half, and thought ourſelves near thoſe Streights, by ſome Accident or other our Powder took

Fire, and blew up myſelf and 119 Perſons, thoſe who eſcaped this Diſaſter betaking themſelves to the Yawl and the Skiff. I was very ſenſible as I roſe in the Air of my Misfortune, and cry'd out aloud, *This Lord is my Road, have Mercy on my Soul, and receive me into Heaven.* When I fell it was in the midſt of the broken Pieces of our Ship, which in a few Minutes was torn to Shatters. The Water revived me, and finding myſelf between the great and the mizen Maſts, I with much ado got upon the former. When I had ſettled myſelf thereon, I looked about me, and I perceived at a ſmall Diſtance a young Man of my Acquaintance ſitting upon a Plank; I immediately called to him and deſired him to come as near to me as he could, for that I was ſo wounded that I was incapable of making any Effort to come to him. The young Man did ſo, and with very much ado I got upon the ſame Plank.

By this Time thoſe in the Yawl and Skiff perceived us, and immediately rowed towards us, not daring however to approach too near, leſt they ſhould ſuffer by the floating Wreck. My Companion ſlipping off the Plank eaſily ſwam on Board, but as for me I was forced to cry out, that my Wounds had diſabled me from ſwimming, and that if they had a Mind to ſave me, they muſt come nearer. Upon which a *Muſician*, my old Acquaintance, laid hold of a Rope, and jumping at once into the Sea, ſwam to the Plank on which I ſate, and having faſtened the Rope about my middle, dragg'd me after him to the Yawl, where with ſome Difficulty they took me in, my Spirits being ſo far ſpent, that I was abſolutely incapable of helping myſelf. As ſoon as I was on Board, they laid me under a little Awning,

and

and did what they could to give me Eaſe; I had two dangerous Wounds in my Head, and it was the Opinion of my Companions, as well as of myſelf, that they were mortal; however, I did not fail to exert, as I conceived, my laſt Breath for their Preſervation, by recommending it to our Factor, and the reſt on Board, to keep all Night as near as poſſible to the Wreck, that when it ſhould be light the next Day, they might be able to get a Compaſs and ſome other Inſtruments on Board, as alſo Proviſions, of all which they ſtood in great need.

But while I repoſed myſelf as well as I could, the Factor hoping the next Day to gain the Shore, and either not heeding, or not believing what I had ſaid, commanded the Men to row with all their Might, which accordingly they did, and the Conſequence was, that when it grew Light, we could not ſee either Wreck or Land. In this Diſtreſs the People caſt their Eyes upon me as the only Perſon capable of adviſing them. All I could do was to encourage them in general Terms, to exhort them to Conſtancy, and to beſeech them to act unanimouſly for their common Safety. I then directed that the Number of Perſons ſhould be counted, which was accordingly done, and it appeared from thence, that there were 46 in the Yawl, and 26 in the Skiff. Our Proviſions, which conſiſted chiefly in Bread, were very ſhort, and as for Water we had none. I ſaw it was impoſſible without Food for us to ſupport much Labour, and therefore I propoſed laying aſide our Oars, and trying to make Sails with our Shirts joined together. This Motion was immediately agreed to, and I was thereupon going to pull off my Shirt, but

my Companions would not permit me on account of my Wounds and Weakneſs. They gave me moreover a Watch Coat, and a Fur Cap, which they found in one of the Lockers, and our *Barber* tore a Piece of his Shirt, and having ſpread thereon ſome Bread which he had chewed, applied it by Way of Poultice to my Wounds, whereby, or rather by the Providence of God, they were ſpeedily cured.

THE Yawl and Skiff being provided with theſe poor Sails, we kept as well as we could before the Wind, ſteering by the Stars, and ſuffering much from the Weather, which if it fry'd us in the Day, froze us in the Night; ſo that in 24 Hours we felt the utmoſt Rigour of Summer and Winter. By Chance a Perſon in the Yawl had a pair of Compaſſes in his Pocket, as ſoon as I was informed of this, I began to think of making Inſtruments. Accordingly, having deſcribed a Circle on a Board, I divided a Quadrant pretty exactly into Degrees, by the Help of which I made a Croſs-Staff, with which we took Obſervations. I alſo laid down on the Top of an old Box a ſort of Chart, whereon I deſcribed the Iſle of *Sumatra*, that of *Java*, and the Streight of *Sunda* between thoſe two Iſlands, ſuppoſing the Shipwreck to have happen'd at about the Diſtance of ninety Miles from Shore. I likewiſe kept as good a Reckoning as I could, that in caſe we made Land we might have ſome Notice where we were. As for Proviſions and Water, that was without my Power; what Bread we had was quickly gone, tho' we husbanded it to the utmoſt, Rain Water we ſaved when it fell, in two empty Barrels, but this Relief we often wanted.

ONCE

ONCE a great Number of *Sea Mews* came on Board both our Veſſels, where we knock'd them on the Head, pluck'd them, and eat them raw. Another Time when we had taſted nothing a whole Day, a great ſhoal of flying Fiſh came croſs our Veſſels, of which we catch'd a good Number, and eat them too raw. Thoſe in the Skiff having none amongſt them who underſtood Navigation, and being ſometimes in Danger of ſeperating from us, defired as the Yawl was large to be taken on Board, which Requeſt, after ſome Intreaty we granted. After this, abſolute Famine ſtaring us in the Face, I had much ado to hinder the Crew from eating the Boys; and at laſt Deſpair carry'd it ſo far, that the Men abſolutely declared, if we ſaw not Land in three Days Time, they would preſerve themſelves, by killing and eating thoſe unhappy Youths. In the Afternoon of the laſt Day it began to rain, and we ſlackened our Sails in order to fill our Caſks.

TOWARDS Evening, as I was at the Helm, I perceived evident Signs of our being near the Shore; but finding myſelf ſo cold, as to be no longer able to perform my Office, I put the Rudder into the Hands of an experienced Sailor, and lay down to Reſt; but I had not quitted the Helm an Hour, before I heard him cry aloud, *Courage my Lads, we are near the Land*; indeed we were ſo near, that before it was quite dark, we reached the Shore, and found a convenient Creek, from whence without Difficulty we got on ſhore. We preſently found ſome Cocoa Trees, and refreſhed ourſelves with their Nuts and Liquor. For this Relief I bleſſed God, whom I ſaw to be the beſt Pilot, and who by his Mercy delivered the Boys amongſt us, from that Death

they would inevitably have undergone the next Day. When it was light the next Morning, we perceived that we had ran on Ground in an uninhabited Iſland, which produced nothing fit for Food, excepting only the Cocoa Nuts before-mentioned; of theſe we took a ſufficient Number into the Boat, and then made all the Sail we could for the *Continent*, which lay over-againſt this Iſland.

We ſailed along the Coaſt the greateſt Part of the Day, without being able to find any Place where we might attempt to land. At laſt ſome of the Crew ſwam on Shore, and having diſcovered the Mouth of the River, made a Waſt to inform us thereof, and we bearing away according to their Signal, found the Mouth of the River, but choak'd with ſuch a Bar of Sand, as gave but little Hopes of our being able to paſs over it, without expoſing ourſelves to total Deſtruction. Upon which I thought it convenient to ſpeak to all our Crew after this manner: *My Friends, I will not undertake to run our Veſſel over this Bank into the Mouth of the River, without the Conſent of you all, and your Promiſe not to upbraid me let what will happen, ſince I give you this previous Notice of your Danger.* They all cried aloud, that they were determined to riſque this Paſſage; and that they would no Way make me accountable for complying with their Commands. Then I went to the Helm, having ordered an Oar to be put out on each Side, at the other End of the Veſſel, two of our ſtrongeſt Men being placed at each Oar, to keep the Veſſel ſteady, this done, we ſteered for the Bar.

In paſſing, the firſt Wave fill'd the Veſſel half full of Water, which our Men emptied as faſt as they could with their Hats, and the little Barrels in which we kept our Water. The ſecond Breach of the Water fill'd us as full as we could hold, and overſet us on one Side into the Bargain; upon which I cryed out, *At it my Lads, clear the Veſſel of the Water or we are all loſt.* They laboured with all their might, and having with much ado got her upright, quickly cleared her of the Water. The third breaking of the Sea happily miſſed our Veſſel, and the Water riſing ſuddenly under our Keel, we were ſpeedily over the *Bar*, and preſently got all ſafe a ſhore, through the Protection of divine Providence. We found in the Neighbourhood of the Creek a good quantity of *Beans*, a Fire lighted, and ſome *Tobacco*, which we judged to be left there by ſome of the Inhabitants. We ſat down without Ceremony, and made Uſe of all we found. Two old Hatchets that were in our Veſſel proved of great Uſe to us now; with them we cut down Wood enough to ſupply the Fire, as alſo to arm ourſelves with each a tough Staff, for we were apprehenſive that the *Savages* might attack us.

Whether our Hurry leſſened or encreaſed our Diſorder I know not, but at the coming in of Night, we were all terribly ſick with the *Beans*, and incapable of taking Reſt. In the midſt of this Diſtreſs, the *Savages* came down to cut our Throats, two Hatchets, a ruſty Sword, and the Staves we had cut, were all the Arms we had, the latter we thought fit to ſtick in the Fire, and when they were thoroughly on Flame at the Top, we drew them out, and marched towards the Enemy, who either terrified with our Appearance, for

the Night was prodigious dark, or whether they apprehended that we were better armed, ſo it was, that they retired into a Wood, and we back to our Fire. The next Day three of the *Savages* advanced out of the Wood, to whom we ſent three of our Seamen to treat with them. The firſt Enquiry they made was as to our Country; our Seamen who were very well acquainted with the Tongues commonly ſpoken in the *Indies*, told them that we were *Hollanders*, and that our Ship blowing up at Sea, we were obliged to put in there for Refreſhment. Upon this they ſaid ſomewhat of *Java*, and repeated two or three Times the Name of *Hans Coen* our General there, then they enquired what Arms we had, we anſwered, a good Number of Muſquets, and Powder and Ball in abundance.

On board I put every Thing to Rights as well as it was poſſible, that we might hide our Weakneſs from them as far as we were able. Some Rice and Fowls we bought and paid for, having about 80 Crowns amongſt us. The next Day I went with four of our Sailors to the Village with all our Money, to buy Proviſion for our Voyage. After Dinner we agreed for a Buffalo, but it proved ſo wild, that we were not able to manage it, for in going back to the Veſſel it broke looſe; we purſued it till it was Night to no Purpoſe, the Seamen then begged me to return to our People, reſolving to ſtay themſelves, in order to catch the Buffalo in the Morning. With much ado I complied with their Requeſt, and on my Return to the Veſſel related our Adventure, our People were mighty uneaſy at the Accident, and grew more ſo when all the next Morning paſſed without any News either of the Buffalo, or our Companion.

In the Afternoon however came two *Savages* with another Buffalo, I told them I was positive that was not the Beast I bought the Day before, upon which they readily confessed that it was not, but said, as we bought that, they did not know but we might buy this, we then enquired what was become of our Sailors; they answered, that they had not yet got the Buffalo, but they would come by and by. With this we were forced to be content, being able to get no better, and having agreed with them for the other Buffalo, and paid them for it, we found the Creature so unruly, that we were forced to get our Brother to knock it down with one of the Axes. As soon as the Beast fell, the two *Savages* set up a horrible Cry, upon which instantly 2 or 300 of their Companions issued out of the Wood, where they lay in Ambuscade, and came rushing furiously upon us, discharging as soon as within Reach a whole Shower of Darts, and then attempting to board our Vessel, which with much ado most of us had gained before they reached us.

I cannot say we fought couragiously, for in Truth we were in such Despair, that we thought of nothing but selling our Lives as dear as we could; the Men who had the Hatchets did terrible Execution, and our *Baker*, who was a very strong Fellow, dealt his Blows with our rusty Sword so freely, that he twice or thrice clear'd the Vessel of the *Savages*, and thereby saved us from Destruction. All our Efforts however would have been useless, if there had not sprung up a brisk Gale from Shore, which quickly carried us out of the Reach of our Enemies, and gave us Leisure to consider our new Situation. We lost in the Engagement 16 Men, including the 4 who

who were left the Night preceding, and who without Doubt had their Throats cut by theſe barbarous People. We ſailed along the Coaſt, our Stock of Proviſions conſiſting only of eight Fowls and a little Rice, a poor Supply for 56 Perſons who were yet left; however we divided it equally, and husbanded it as well as we could for ſeveral Days.

HUNGER at laſt forced us once more to think of going aſhore, which we accordingly did, on a little Iſland inhabited indeed but thinly, where we found plenty of freſh Water, ſome wild Fowl, and Fruit; but what rejoiced us moſt, was the great plenty of large Canes, called *Bamboos*, of theſe we cut Numbers, and having burnt through their Joints, filled them with Water, for which they were the moſt excellent Casks that we had ſeen for a long Time. While our Men were thus employed, I went alone to the Top of a very high Hill, where looking about me, I ſaw at a Diſtance blew Mountains, I then remembered that I had heard *William Schouten*, the famous Pilot ſay, that in two or three Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, he had obſerved two Mountains of that Colour, over-againſt the Point of the Iſland of *Java*. This made me ſtill more attentive, I remarked that theſe Mountains were on my right Hand, that we had ſailed along the left Coaſt of *Sumatra*, and that in the middle there appeared a fair opening in the Sea; upon this I went down, and acquainted our Factor with what I had obſerved, and with my Reaſons for believing that we were at the Mouth of the Streight of *Sunda*. He readily came into my Opinion, whereupon we drew together our People, and having got our Water on Board put to Sea.

ABOUT

About Midnight we ſaw Fire at a Diſtance, which we conceived to have been in ſome Veſſel, but it proved to be an Iſland in the Streight of *Sunda*. We paſſed by it, and came in a ſhort Space to another Iſland. In the Morning I ordered one of the Men to the Maſt Head, who had not been there long before he cryed out, *Courage my Lads, I ſee Ships riding in a Road, and I have counted twenty-three.* Theſe Words revived us all, and becauſe the Weather was quite calm, we betook us to our Oars, that we might ſooner reach the Fleet. It lay before *Bantam*, with which we were then at War, and was commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alckmar*. The General happened to be at this Time in his Gallery, and having viewed our Sail with his Perſpective, he was ſo ſtruck with the Oddity of its Form, that he ſent his Shaloup to know what we were. We were quickly known to the Crew of that Veſſel, having ſailed with them out of the *Texel*, and kept them Company as far as the Coaſt of *Spain*.

The Factor and I therefore went with them on Board the Admiral, who received us very kindly, and ſet us down to Table with him; but when I ſaw the Bread, the Meat, the Wine, and the Beer, my Heart was ſo full, that I burſt into Tears, and could not eat at all; in a few Days however I recovered pretty well, and went with the Factor in a Veſſel diſpatched to *Batavia*, where we gave an Account of all that happened to us to the General of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, who provided for us all Things in great Plenty, till our Return to *Holland*. The Company, ſaid the Captain, to whom this Story was told, would have preſented the old Man with ſome Money, but he abſolutely

lutely refuſed it, ſaying his Circumſtances did not require it. All the Company heard this Relation with great Attention, and I the rather committed it to Writing, becauſe our Captain aſſured me, that to the beſt of his Knowledge it had not yet been Printed.

Doctor *Salviati* a *Genoeſe*, who had been both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and was a Man of great Wit and Learning, entertained us with many Stories of his Adventures, as likewiſe did Seignior *Altoviti*, a *Neapolitan*, a moſt ingenious Man, with whom my Acquaintance took Birth in this Paſſage, and proved much more pleaſant than uſeful. The 7th the Weather was fair, and our Captain declared to us in the Evening, that he thought himſelf about fourſcore Leagues from *Alexandria*. But tho' there was little Wind, the Sea ſtill ran high; ſo that we durſt uſe but little Sail, tho' we were deſirous enough of getting into Port. The 8th the Wind was fair, and we made a great deal of Way. On the 9th we were in Sight of Land, and about Noon came into the Port of *Alexandria*.

For the preſent Mr. *Perez*, myſelf, and our Servant *Antonio*, went to lodge with one *Veneroni*, an Acquaintance of our Captain's; thither alſo came Seignior *Altoviti*, who was our Companion in ſeeing all the Curioſities in and about this famous City, among which he could find none which deſerved Admiration more than himſelf. He paſſed with us for a Traveller, whom Curioſity only led to viſit *Egypt*; but he diſcourſed on all Subjects with ſuch Fluency, and with ſuch Appearance of Knowledge, that it was not eaſy to conceive he ſhould make this Voyage with no other View. His peculiar Excellency was in finding out, and ſuiting himſelf

himſelf to every Man's Genius, Temper, and Pleaſures; ſo that he was not only the Companion, but the boſom Friend of Dr. *Salviati*, Mr. *Perez*, our Captain, myſelf, and even of *Antonio*, whom he knew how to play off for the Diverſion of every Body without offending him, which was no light Secret.

He loved Expence, came into all Propoſitions where Pleaſure was in View, and paid for every Thing frankly, and like a Man of Quality. He liked Play as a Diverſion, and tho' he did not ſhew any great Skill in it, he was generally ſucceſsful. Tho' he never propoſed high Stakes, yet he would readily make them to gratify a Loſer, nor was it till after a very long Acquaintance, and upon a very particular Occaſion, that I learned this was his Philoſopher's Stone, and the Mine from whence he drew wherewith to ſubſiſt. He could not be at this Time above 50 Years of Age, and yet he was ſo well known in all Parts of *Europe*, that he was forced to take this Method for opening a new Vein as the Miners phraſe it.

Dr. *Salviati* came hither on the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion; he had been invited by two Brothers, who reſided as Factors at *Alexandria*, to come and live with them, in order to take Care of their Health. The Doctor was about forty-ſix, had all the *Italian* Politeneſs, with a great deal of good Senſe, and as much Sincerity as any Man could wiſh in a Friend. He went immediately to his Patrons, who received him with as much Affection as if he had been their neareſt Relation, cauſed all his Things to be immediately brought to their Houſe, and my great Bale with them at his Requeſt, aſſigned him a large Apartment, and, in fine, did every thing

for

for him which would have contented the moſt troubleſome Man in the World, whereas of all Men he was the leaſt ſo. The Doctor had but one Fault, which was, that he liked Play. This brought him to us every Day, though he generally loſt his Money, and would have loſt it always, if the *Neapolitan* had not had Skill enough to looſe now and then to him, at leaſt double as much as he won of him at any ſingle Time.

Our Affairs went on very happily from the very Moment of our Arrival. Signior *Altoviti*, to make his Court to us, exerted all his Diligence in procuring graved Stones, Medals, and ſuch like Curioſities which he had Addreſs enough to buy much cheaper than we could, and with which he furniſhed us at the Price he bought them, ſuppoſing us to be Men of Fortune, who collected them for our own Cabinets. The Doctor, who was not very curious this Way, having his Head turned entirely to Phyſick and Chemiſtry, frequently did us Favours in the ſame Way. As for *Antonio*, we gave him ſeven or eight Piaſters, and in two or three Days he brought in a large Cargo, amongſt which we generally found ſomething of Value. From our firſt coming hither, I remark'd Mr. *Perez* did not much care for converſing with any of the *Jews*; and indeed where-ever he came he ſeemed to ſtand no leſs in Fear of them than of the Inquiſition. He never condeſcended to give Reaſons on this Head; but by putting together Things I have heard him ſay, it appeared to me that the *Jews* allowed of no Latitudinarians amongſt them, but thought themſelves at Liberty to puniſh any Man who in the conſtant Tenour of his Life diſobey'd the Laws of *Moſes*. On this Account, whenever I had any Tranſactions with *Jews*, I took

I took care to keep them at a Diſtance, which I had all the Opportunity in the World of doing, Mr. *Perez* being a Man above Suſpicion, as believing firmly that a Perſon who called himſelf his Friend, would never forfeit his Honour ſo far as to deceive him; and as I was conſcious to my ſelf that I deſerved the Truſt he repoſed in me, I took my Meaſures ſo as to ſerve our common Intereſt, without giving him any particular Cauſe of Diſpleaſure.

THOSE People, I mean the *Jews*, carry on the greateſt Part of the Trade of *Egypt*, and therefore all who have any Concerns therein have conſequently ſomething to do with them. We were recommended to one whoſe Name was *Abraham*, through the Means of Mr. *Fetherſtone*; and, on our firſt Arrival, I thought myſelf extremely happy in having Buſineſs to tranſact with him. He ſpoke *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* perfectly. He was known to, and had great Intereſt with not only the *Venetian* Conſul, and the *French* Vice-Conſul, but alſo the *Turkiſh* Officers, Civil and Military; able in his Profeſſion, polite in his Manners, and much better acquainted with Books than any *Jew* I ever met with who was not a *Rabbi*. With all theſe Qualifications, he was one of the moſt cunning, artful Knaves, that ever exiſted; Many ſuſpected him, but few or none durſt publiſh their Suſpicions, for he was ſo ſubtile in his Contrivances, and had ſuch a mighty Intereſt, that whoever offended him, ſeldom eſcaped ſome great Miſhap or other.

FOR my part, the firſt Affair I had with him, was the Sale of a Parcel of Coral which had been ſorted by Mr. *Fetherſtone*, and was not only excellent in its kind, but alſo very neatly wrought. He was ſo pleaſed with the Samples

Samples I ſhew'd him, that he readily undertook to diſpoſe of all that we had, which was ſomewhat more than two Quintals; this accordingly he performed much to my Satisfaction, for he ſold it for a thouſand Piaſters, whereas the *Venetian* Merchants, with whom Dr. *Salviati* lived, aſſured me that the Coral would not fetch above eight hundred and fifty. Before we came to make up the Accompt, my *Jew* ſhewed me abundance of Curioſities, ſome truly antique, but the greater Part of them evidently Counterfeits; thoſe which were of any Value, he ſet much too high a Price on; and when I refuſed to take them, ſeemed to be not a little diſpleaſed; however, he ſhewed me afterwards ſome colour'd Stones, ſuch as *Chryſolites* and *Amethiſts*, and at laſt ſome *Emeralds*, of which there are in *Egypt* ſome of great Value. Amongſt theſe there were two, which if abſolutely perfect, would have been valuable; as they were, he asked three hundred Piaſters for the one, and two hundred for the other; I offer'd him two hundred and fifty for the largeſt; to which, with ſome Difficulty, he agreed.

When I brought the Stone home, I ſhew'd it to Mr. *Perez*, and asked him what he thought of it, he ſaid, it might poſſibly be ſold for one hundred and fifty Piaſters, but that he would not give ſo much for it; upon which I told him that I bought it for my ſelf, in order to ſend it into *England* for a Preſent. I am ſorry for it, ſaid Mr. *Perez*, we muſt ſell Stones as we find them, foul or clean; but when we make Preſents they ſhould be abſolutely perfect; at which I ſmiled, telling him it was a *Spaniſh* Nicety; but that there were many People who loved large Stones, rather than ſmall ones of greater Value. My real Deſign in buying this Emerald was to try

the

the Secret I had of freeing it from its Imperfection, but, at the ſame Time, I found the *Jew* had impoſed upon me near half in half; notwithſtanding which, and my allowing him a Half *per Centum* more than uſual in the Sale of the Coral, he was ſo diſpleaſed at our not putting all Things into his Hands, that he could not forbear doing us privately ill Turns which we had no Way deſerved, and which *Antonio* would have revenged in his own Way if I had not prevented him.

DURING our Stay in this City, which was longer than we at firſt conceived neceſſary, and which was much ſhorter than it ought to have been, ſince no Place was fitter for our Purpoſe. I ſay, during our Stay here, and within three Months after our Arrival, there happened a ſingular Adventure, which ſerved to give us a great Idea of our own good Fortune, and proved, I think, the principal Motive to our taking abundance of needleſs Trouble in hopes of meeting with ſtill better Luck, of which there would have been much more Probability if we had never left *Alexandria* at all.

THE Adventure was this: When I had Occaſion to go abroad, I hired always the Aſs of an old *Arab*, or, as they are call'd there, *Bedouin*, who ſpoke a ſort of *Lingua franca*, and with whom I could, though not without ſome Difficulty, converſe. This Man, on account of my giving him now and then ſomewhat more than the Hire of his Beaſt came to, which was in Truth very little, began to have a great Liking to me, the rather, I believe, becauſe of my being more reſerv'd and grave than the *Franks*, as they call the *Europeans*, uſually are. It ſo happened one Day, that this poor Fellow having got Cold, complained

much of a Pain in his Stomach; with ſome Difficulty I got him to take a little of a Cordial in which Rhubarb had been alſo infuſed, which preſently relieved him. When we came home, he told me that he would the next Day bring me ſome of the *Franks* Treaſure, by which he meant Medals, and other Curioſities, which Travellers uſually enquire for in *Egypt*. Accordingly the next Day he came and brought tied up in a coarſe Cloth, as many Things as would have filled a Man's Hat: I did not examine them very carefully, becauſe at firſt Sight I perceived that they were genuine and curious, but aſked him what he would have for them; he aſked twenty Piaſters, which in his Judgment was a vaſt Sum. I gave him twelve, and he went away not only ſatisfied, but over-joy'd.

THESE poor People live in the Vaults and Caverns among the Ruins of the ancient City of *Alexandria*. In theſe Places they have great Opportunities of finding Medals, Stones, Idols of green Earth, and other Curioſities. It ſeems a little before our Arrival there had been a very great Storm, accompanied with Rain, which waſhed down the Things the *Arab* ſold me, with many more, into his Vault or Cellar, where he treaſured them up till he had an Opportunity of ſelling them.

MR. *Perez*, when he ſaw theſe Things, and conſidered them, looked upon this as a ſingular good Omen, and indeed there were two Medals of *Lyſimachus* in Silver, and one in Braſs of *Cleopatra*, which were valuable; neither was there any thing falſe, or which could be ſaid to be of little Value. There were likewiſe three Tablets of Cornelian, harder, and of a much deeper Colour than is uſual, which ſeem'd to have been prepared

for

for engraving; but, by ſome Accident, were left plain, and were the fineſt I ever ſaw. We ſent theſe, and a great many other Things, to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, from whom we receiv'd Advice, that by proper Aſortments, and ſending them to different Places, our Collections would in all Likelihood produce very conſiderable Advantages.

By this time our *Neapolitan* began to diſcern ſomewhat of our Buſineſs, and therefore preſſed Mr. *Perez* to go to *Cairo*. It was indeed high time for him to be gone, ſince he had already ſtaid longer than ſeemed conſiſtent with the Account he gave of himſelf, and of his Buſineſs; but as for us, there ſeemed to be no great Cauſe for our removing, nor had I any Idea of it 'till Mr. *Perez* mentioned it, and aſſured me that we ſhould find our Account therein. But after all, the *Neapolitan* was forced to depart without us, having won a large Sum of Money of a *Jew*, who did not bear his Loſs with that Patience which our Friend expected. The Cauſe of our longer Stay was my falling ill of an Ague, which proved very troubleſome, for I relapſed twice. To facilitate my Recovery, Dr. *Salviati*, with the Conſent of his Patrons gave me a Share in his Apartment at their Houſe. Here having the Opportunity of a ſmall Furnace, I made an Experiment of the Emerald my *Jew* had ſold me, but it did not ſucceed ſo happily as I expected, though it improved the Stone very much. *Two* or *three* large *Topaz*'s, which were very foul, and as it were muddy, I tried in the ſame Manner, and ſucceeded therein beyond my Expectation, for they became perfectly clear and well-colour'd. Some Experiments alſo I made on *Amethiſts* and *Chryſolites*, but to no Purpoſe at all. When I was perfectly recovered, I conſen-

ed, at the Requeſt of my Friend *Perez*, though againſt my own Opinion, to go to *Roſetta*, and thence to *Cairo*.

THE Time we ſtaid at *Alexandria*, including the beſt Seaſon of the Year, I had before me all the Opportunities I could deſire of informing myſelf concerning the ancient and preſent State of that moſt famous City; neither did I let them ſlip, but as far as in my Power lay improved what I heard, what I ſaw, what I read, and what from the Compariſon of theſe I was able to conjecture to the beſt Advantage. Hence I often amuſed myſelf with framing Ideas of the different Situation Things have been in, in this Part of the World, and of the Power, Grandeur, and Riches, of the ſeveral Potentates who have either ruled in *Egypt*, or made it a Part of their Dominion. On mature Deliberation, I am perſuaded myſelf, and I think I could prove it to any reaſonable Perſon, that the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, before the Times of *Alexander*, were by far the moſt conſiderable Princes that ever ſwayed here. At firſt Sight it will ſeem odd to deduce this from the Conſideration of *Alexandria*, a City built after the Extinction of their Government, yet have I certainly Reaſon on my Side, ſince if the ancient *Egyptian* Princes had not taken Care to confer on this Country thoſe Benefits which Nature had denied it, it would have been ſo far from affording a Situation proper for the Metropolis of a great Kingdom, that there could not have been ſo much as a Village, no not a Houſe here, or any where hereabouts.

THE Maps we commonly have of *Egypt* are ſo erroneous, that it is really a difficult Thing to have a juſt Comprehenſion of what Travellers ſay of that Country; and

and I have been ſometimes not a little ſurpriz'd to ſee Charts inſerted in Books directly contrary, as to the Situation of Places, to what was ſaid in them. The City I am ſpeaking of lies without the *Delta*, towards the *Lybian* Deſarts. The Soil about it was naturally as ſandy and barren, as unfit for Cultivation, and as abſolutely void of Water as can be imagined. To remedy theſe Evils, and to turn this Wilderneſs into a habitable Country, the ancient Kings of *Egypt* deviſed Methods of ſupplying it with Water; and as a very great Quantity was neceſſary, they cauſed a large and deep Lake to be ſunk within a few Miles of the Sea, to be a proper Receptacle for the furniſhing the Canals they had deſigned with Water, at ſuch Times as they could not be drawn directly from the *Nile*. This Lake ſtill remains a Monument of their Wiſdom and Power, and is called *Mareotis*. It was fill'd by the Waters derived to it from two grand Canals, the one drawn from the Lake *Moeris* in the upper, and the other diſcharging the Waters collected in the lower *Egypt*. From the Lake *Mareotis* again there was a Canal to the Sea, and ſeveral other Cuts for the Conveniency of Agriculture and Navigation. Thus the Country became inhabitable, by Degrees was filled with Villages, and lying conveniently for Trade, eſpecially with the *Greeks*, ſerved to circulate the Commodities of the higher *Egypt*, and perhaps of *Ethiopia*, and to return in their ſtead the Manufactures and Wealth of *Europe*.

It was in this State that *Alexander the Great* found it, and very wiſely contrived to build a new City here to be the Seat of the *Grecian* Governors, and a kind of Check upon the reſt of *Egypt*. Whoever is well

acquainted with his Hiſtory, will perceive that he purchaſed no part of his great Dominions at ſo eaſy a Rate as he did *Egypt*. The true Reaſon of which was, that the *Egyptians* naturally inclined to rid themſelves of the *Perſian* Yoke, and to ſubmit themſelves rather to him than to any body elſe. Their old Maſters had always treated them with great Severity, and were beſides open Enemies to their Superſtition. The *Greeks*, on the other hand, were their old Friends, and little leſs ſuperſtitious than themſelves. However, as *Alexander* thought of keeping as well as getting, he ſaw clearly that the *Egyptians* were not to be depended upon, and that it would be an indiſcreet riſquing of his *veteran* Troops to leave a ſmall Number of them encamped in the open Country ſcatter'd up and down in Garriſons, or in any great inland City, where, in caſe of Rebellion, they might be preſently block'd up, and eaſily famiſh'd before they could receive any Succours. There was nothing therefore either of Pride or of Vanity in *Alexander*'s building this City, but it was purely a Work of Policy, which he executed with as much Spirit, as he projected it with Sagacity. I know very well that there are ſome Diſcordances in the Accounts given us of this Tranſaction by the Ancients; but he who will exerciſe his Underſtanding and attend rather to the Reaſon of Things than to the Niceties of Expreſſion, and thoſe Ornaments which Hiſtorians uſually endeavour'd after, ſuch as Prodigies and miraculous Accidents, will find this Account probable enough.

THIS City, as laid out by *Dinocrates*, at the Command of *Alexander*, ſtretched from the Lake *Mareotis*

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to the Sea, thereby affording all imaginable Conveniency for correſponding with the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, at the ſame time that effectual Proviſion was made for eſtabliſhing a ſtrong Garriſon, and a numerous and flouriſhing Colony, open in reſpect to *Greece*, from whence at Times it could receive Succours ſufficient not only to preſerve itſelf, but to ſecure the Dominion of the *Greeks* over *Egypt*. As it owed its Foundation to one of the greateſt Princes in the World, ſo from the very Beginning it was adorned with the nobleſt publick Buildings which the *Greek* Taſte for Architecture then at its greateſt Height, and ſupported by all the Riches of the Eaſt, could ſupply. This great Conqueror, ſo long as he lived, continued his Care to this Child of his Policy, according to it ſuch Privileges and taking ſuch Pains to furniſh it with Inhabitants, that as it was built, ſo it was peopled in ſo ſhort a Space, that the Account we have of it would be incredible, if we knew not that the whole was carried on by him, who with *thirty ſix thouſand* Men attempted and atchieved the Conqueſt of the beſt Part of the Univerſe.

His Succeſſor in this Part of his Dominions, *Ptolemy Lagus*, if he was not rather the Son of *Philip*, and the Brother of *Alexander*, made *Alexandria* his Capital, and the Care of fortifying, adorning, and augmenting it, the grand Buſineſs of a long and proſperous Reign. It was he who made its Port the Wonder of the World, and erected over a moſt magnificent Palace built on an artificial Iſland, that celebrated *Pharos* of which Authors ſpeak with ſuch Rapture and Amazement.

His Succeſſors purſued the ſame Plan, that is to ſay, they improved and adorned *Alexandria* to the utmoſt of

their Power, transferring hither by degrees all the *Greek* Arts, and erecting that celebrated Library which was at length encreaſed to five, ſome ſay to ſeven hundred thouſand Volumes, and which is affirmed to have periſhed by Fire when *Julius Cæſar* was in this City, tho' neither that Prince, nor the Conſul *Hirtius*, who continued his Commentaries, ſay any thing of it. *Cleopatra*, the laſt *Greek* Sovereign of *Egypt*, exerted her utmoſt Force in order to excell all her Predeceſſors in magnificent Buildings, the Ruins of which (if they be truly the Ruins of her Palace which are commonly called ſo) remain to this Day.

AFTER *Egypt* became a Province of *Rome*, *Alexandria* of courſe declined from its former Grandeur, but remained ſtill, as the *Roman* Authors frequently confeſs, the next City to *Rome*, containing not leſs than three hundred thouſand free Citizens, and of all Sorts of Inhabitants, a Million at the leaſt. Its Commerce, its pleaſant and convenient Situation, its being the Metropolis of *Africa* after the Ruin of *Carthage*, drew to it ſuch a Flux of Riches, and all other Utenſils of Luxury, that, as *Quintilian* informs us, *Deliciæ Alexandriæ*, the *Delights* of *Alexandria*, became a Proverb. Thence forward it ſhared the Fate of the *Roman* Empire, or rather of the *Conſtantinopolitan*, of which it remained a Province 'till it was over-run by the *Saracens* in the *Caliphat* of *Omar*, when with all the reſt of *Egypt* it fell into their Hands, and ſuffered from thence all the Calamities a barbarous Enemy could inflict, an Enemy equally cruel to Buildings and to People. This is to be underſtood of the Condition of this People at the Time of their Eruption into *Egypt*; for by degrees, when they were ſettled there

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and tafted the Bleſſings of civil Government, Peace and Riches, they became quite another People.

HOWEVER, their Succeſſors, who came thus to underſtand the Value of the *Greek* Learning, could neither reſtore the Buildings their Predeceſſors had overturned, or thoſe innumerable Works of Literature which they had deſtroyed. For as all the Princes to whom *Alexandria* had been ſubject endeavour'd to render it famous for being the Seat of the Muſes as well as of Government, ſo the Libraries which they piqued themſelves on erecting had all of them alike ill Fate. Of the firſt, Mention hath been made already, the ſecond, begun by *Cleopatra*, and augmented by the *Roman* Princes and Governors, was I know not how deſtroyed by the Zeal of Chriſtian Prieſts, from a Notion that heathen Learning muſt nouriſh heathen Superſtition. What was ſaved from this general Wreck of Literature, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who here, as well as at *Cairo*, heated their Ovens and their Bagnio's with Heaps of invaluable Manuſcripts. In the Wars, which almoſt continually vexed *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of theſe new Maſters, *Alexandria* ſuffered not a little; and at length one of the Succeſſors of *Saladin*, as the *Europeans* call him, encloſed a Part of the City with Walls, which are yet ſtanding, well fortified with Towers, after having demoliſh'd every Thing without them, as well to prevent any Rebels from fortifying themſelves amongſt them, as to furniſh himſelf with Materials for the Works carried on by his Command.

I KNOW very well that many Travellers have reported, that the Walls now ſtanding are thoſe built by *Alexander*; but they are really what I ſay, as appears not only

only from the *Arabian* Hiſtorians, but from the Walls themſelves, which are plainly compoſed in great Meaſure of the Fragments of an ancient Building, and have in many Places *Arabick* Inſcriptions, all of a Date inferior to that aſſigned for their Erection. Under the *Mamalukes* it is ſaid, that the ancient *Alexandria*, or rather the magnificent Ruins of it, ſuffered new Outrages. Theſe People, greedy of Money, and having ſtrong Suſpicions that the *Obelisks* they ſaw covered with *Hieroglyphics* were erected for no other Purpoſe than by their *Taliſmannick* Virtue, to preſerve the Treaſures buried under them, broke and threw them down whereever they could, and defaced all the Statues they met with, if they had the leaſt Suſpicion that they were hollow.

THE *Turks* ſince they became Maſters, have acted upon the ſame wiſe Plan, and it is hard to ſay whether they have been more induſtrious in deſtroying the noble Monuments of Antiquity, or careleſs in erecting publick Works themſelves. The true Source of which left-handed Policy is this, that they look upon *Egypt* not as an Eſtate, but as a Farm, of which they may one Day loſe the Poſſeſſion; and therefore while they have it, they are for making as much of it as they can. For we are much in the wrong to ſuppoſe that the *Turks* are a dull, ſenſeleſs People, whereas in Truth, they are quite otherwiſe; the Things from which we make ſuch Inferences, have Cauſes that we don't ſuſpect; and therefore in this Light they are not Fools, but we. It is true, that if we eſtabliſh for our Rule this Maxim, *that ſuch Things only as are vertuouſly done, are wiſely done*, we ſhall condemn the *Turks*, yet may they not

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alſo pray Judgment againſt us on the ſame Statute. But if the purſuit of Riches be an allowable End in them, as from our Practice it ſhould ſeem we ought to admit, then I am afraid it will be found, they are at leaſt as wiſe as ourſelves. For not to ramble too far from my Subject here, in the Port of *Alexandria* the Grand Seignior acts with as much Policy as any *European* Prince, for he impoſes Duties upon all foreign Commodities; ſo that if his Subjects will deal in Superfluities, they muſt pay him, but he gives all manner of Encouragement for the vending the rich Commodities of their own Country, whereby the Balance of Trade is brought on their Side, and conſequently the Well furniſhed with continual Supplies of Water, to be firſt ſuck'd up by inferior Spunges, and at laſt ſqueez'd at once into the *bottomleſs Ciſtern* of the *Imperial Treaſure*, acquired by draining and employed in oppreſſing the People. Madneſs which would be incredible if it was not ſo common.

But to return to the City, its ancient Magnificence appeared but in part from the noble Structures erected on the Surface, ſince it was wholly built on Vaults of ſtupendous Contrivance, and wonderful Beauty. As the Buſineſs of Navigation and Agriculture could not have been carried on without the many Canals above deſcribed, ſo their Domeſtic Occaſions required Supplies of Water nearer at Hand, and in Quantities proportioned to the Number of Inhabitants. Subterraneous Aqueducts furniſhed theſe, nay, and furniſh them ſtill, for there is not a Drop of Water in the Modern *Alexandria*, but what is drawn from the ancient Ciſterns fill'd once a Year, by the riſing of the *Nile*, towards which Time the Water remaining in theſe Repoſitories

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corrupting, renders the Air unwholeſome, and the City very ſickly.

THE old *Alexandria* was a Square of about a League, but its Suburbs ſtretch'd very much towards the Tower of the *Arabs* on the one Side, and towards *Roſetta* on the other, ſurrounded on all Sides by pleaſant Gardens, full of the moſt delicious Fruits. The Modern *Alexandria* is in a manner without Walls, ſtretched along the Sea Side, and after gradually declining for a long Time, had well nigh ſunk into a Village 40 Years ago; but it is ſince much recovered, and continues daily to increaſe, Experience having taught the *Turks*, that nothing can be more advantagious than this, for the augmenting their Revenue.

THE moſt remarkable Things in this new City are, the Remains of thoſe ancient Structures which are yet in a Condition of being conſidered. Among theſe, that which deſerves firſt to be takenNotice of is, what the Chriſtian Inhabitants ſtile the *Palace of the Father of St. Katherine*, which is ſituated almoſt in the middle of the Space comprehended in the preſent Walls; a moſt pompous Colonade of Pillars, no leſs admirable for their Workmanſhip, than for their extraordinary Height and Bigneſs, amuſes the Eye of the Spectator; it extends at preſent 500 Feet, but Numbers of the Pillars are entirely demoliſhed; ſome there are which retain half their ancient Height, and one only is left entire. Over-againſt theſe are found the Remains of another Range of Pillars, which heretofore fronted thoſe before ſpoken of, whence it is probably enough conjectured, that they included a Space of Ground 500 Foot in Front, and 200 in Depth, in the midſt of which it is thought there

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was a noble Fountain, as, from many concurring Circumſtances, inquiſitive Men think they have Grounds to affirm, that theſe were the *publick Baths* built by the *Romans*. Over-againſt this glorious Relique of ancient Architecture, ſtands one of the fineſt Churches in *Egypt*, formerly dedicated to St. *Athanaſius*, now a *Turkiſh* Moſque; of the Inſide of this we know nothing more than can be perceived through certain Openings over the Gates. Hence we are enabled to ſay, that the Roof of it is ſupported by four Rows of Porphyry Pillars, as fair and beautiful as can be imagined. As to the Churches, or rather Chapels, in the Hands of the *Chriſtians*, they are very far from being conſiderable, and as to the Port, all that it hath either of Safety or Beauty, it derives from its ancient Maſters. At preſent there is a modern *Turkiſh* Fortification on the Iſland, where ſtood the ancient *Pharos*, the *Franks* call it *Farillon*; it is neither very ſtrong, nor very beautiful, but ſerves well enough for the Purpoſe to which it is uſed. Here are two Ports, each covered by a Mole. That which is called the old Port is capacious as well as very comodious and ſafe, into which only the *Turkiſh* Gallies and other Veſſels are ſuffered to come; as for the new Port, it is far from having any of theſe Advantages, tho' they might be procured to it if the *Turks* would be at any Expence, which is ſcarce to be expected.

To what has been ſaid, I ſhall add only an Account of two Remnants of Antiquity more, the one within, the other without the Walls of *Alexandria*. The firſt the Obelisk, or as the *Franks* call it the *Aiguilla*, and our Sailors the *Needle* of *Cleopatra*. There is one ſtanding,

ſtanding, and another lying on the Ground. That which is upright is without a Pedeſtal, and in all probability there is a great Part of it in the Earth. It is four ſquare, pointed at Top, each Face is covered with *Hieroglyphicks*, and the Stone of which it is made wonderfully beautiful, what is above Ground may be 56 Feet high. The other, which is almoſt buried in the Sand, lies about 12 Yards farther, and is evidently of the ſame kind. I have ſeen in other Parts of *Egypt* ſeveral of theſe Needles, and I think there is a Correſpondence between the *Hieroglyphic* Figures on the Faces of them all; from whence I have been led to conjecture, that they were ſet up by the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, to make certain Things known to their Subjects for the common Good; for I cannot apprehend, that the *Egyptians* would expoſe any of the Myſteries of their Religion in the Highways; perhaps I may be miſtaken, and perhaps a learned Man who ſhould attempt to confute me, might be miſtaken too; let us leave then theſe obſcure Points to Time, and the Antiquarians, who pretend to be of his Council.

THE other Antiquity is the famous Pillar of *Pompey*, which lies about half a Mile without the City, towards the Lake of *Mareotis*; this is at once the fineſt, and the faireſt Pillar, not in *Egypt* only, but in the Univerſe. I cannot take upon me ſo much as to conjecture whether there be or be not Foundation for the Title given it. Whenever it was erected, it certainly was the Work of a very great Architect, ſince it is alike pleaſing to the Eye of every Beholder, and no Critic that I know of hath preſumed to cenſure its Proportions, tho' it is not reducible to any of the Orders in Uſe amongſt us.

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As to its Height two *French* Engineers meaſured it, as each of them affirm'd, very exactly while I was here. The one aſſerted it to be 94 Feet high, and the other 106. Both theſe People could not be right, by my Admeaſurement it ſhould be 110 of our Feet. A Mountebank who aſcended this Pillar with marvelous Facility, found it hollow at the Top; it may be there was ſome Image fixed thereon when it was originally ſet up. The *Turks*, according to their old Cuſtom, have been battering its Foundation, in order to look for Treaſure, but without Succeſs. One may gueſs from this Monument, how far the Skill and Addreſs of the Antients in theſe ſort of Things tranſcends thoſe of the Moderns; for I never heard any Body pretend, that a Work of this kind could be executed by any Artiſt in *Europe*. As this Pillar is perfectly plain, it is reaſonable to believe, that it was ſet up to perpetuate the Memory of ſome extraordinary Event, which makes the Learned ſo dubious as to the Propriety of the Name given it, ſince in this Senſe it ſeems to correſpond with it well enough, in other Reſpects the Pillar might be thought to ſuit better with the *Grecian* Times.

As to the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, I forbear ſpeaking of them, till I come to ſpeak of the People of *Egypt* in general. I ſhall only add, that our Sailors commonly call this City *Scanderoon*, in Imitation of the *Arab* Name *Scanderani*, which is a Tranſlation of the *Greek* Name, a Liberty the more allowable in them, ſince the *Greeks* themſelves uſed it very freely, in altering the Names of all the Places which fell under their Cognizance, either in their Wars, or in their Travels.

We left this famous Place, in order to travel by Land to *Roſetta*, having ſent our Effects thither in a Bark by Sea; we had in our Company 21 Perſons, and amongſt them Dr. *Salviati*, who went to *Roſetta* on ſome Concerns of his Patrons. We paſt by a conſiderable Lake, out of which there is a Canal cut to the Sea. All the low Country lies much expoſed to that Element, and we were informed, that it ſometimes ruſhed in with incredible Fury. The *Doctor*, Mr. *Perez*, and ſome other intelligent Perſons in our Company, gave it as their Opinion, that ſome Time or other this would be fatal, not only to the Country between theſe Cities, but to *Alexandria* itſelf. At that Time I ſaid nothing, but having thoroughly conſidered the Thing, I came to entertain quite a different Notion, of which I ſtill am, *viz.* That the Sea will loſe Ground here inſtead of gaining it. To this I was firſt led by reflecting on what the Antients have delivered, as to the growing of the *Delta*, by the continual Acceſſion of Mud brought thither by the *Nile*. I was confirmed in it, by comparing the Diſtances of Places, mentioned in antient Authors, from the Sea, which I found to be much encreaſed; and as to the Certainty of this, again I thought that there was no room left for me to doubt, ſince ſeveral old Captains of Ships aſſured me, that when they firſt knew the City of *Roſetta*, that Part of it which was now half a Mile from the Sea, was within a quarter of it at moſt. Beſides, it is not above 60 Years ſince *Roſetta* became a Port, on account of the Difficulty there was found in navigating Barks of conſiderable Burthen up the River to *Fouhe*, where the *Grand Seignior*'s Officers of Revenue were formerly ſettled. But of this Subject enough.

From

From *Alexandria* to *Roſetta* are 10 Leagues, which with ſome Difficulty we travelled in one Day, and took up our Lodgings in a publick Inn, from whence we removed to the Houſe of a *Scotch* Merchant, where we were very much at our Eaſe, and Dr. *Salviati* with us, for the Time he ſtaid, which was about three Weeks. Directly behind this Houſe lay certain Gardens, more regular, and kept in better Order then any we had hitherto ſeen. This induced us to enquire of our Landlord to whom they belonged, he told us to one *Haſſan* a *Moor*, who had retired thither from *Tetuan*, and who lived with ſuch Luſtre, that the *Arabs* ſaid he had the Art of making Gold grow, a Conceit which the meaner ſort of People take in a litteral Senſe, and which thoſe of more Learning uſe to expreſs the Art of Tranſmutation. It was not long before I obtained a better Account of this *Moor*, and of the manner by which he had acquired his Riches.

A *Spaniſh* Slave of his named *Matthew Vaſquez* about 70 Years of Age, but of a robuſt Conſtitution, and who had been 38 Years in Slavery, came to the Houſe of a *Jew*, with whom I had ſome Dealings, and was eaſily perſuaded to viſit me at our Lodgings. He told me that his Maſter was the Son of a *Spaniſh Renegade*, who fled voluntarily from one of the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, in order to abjure his Religion, which he did publickly at *Tetuan*, and in the Space of a few Years, came to be a very conſiderable Perſon. He took the Name of *Ibrahim*, and being a ſtrong well made Man, and of an undaunted Courage, addicted himſelf to Piracy with aſtoniſhing Succeſs. He married the Daughter of his Patron, who had given the

 firſt

firſt Riſe to his Fortune; her Name was *Zaide*, and ſhe was at once as handſome and as virtuous as an Angel; by her he had this Son *Haſſan*, but loſt her about a Year afterwards by the Plague, which carried off alſo three of his Concubines. For ſome Months after *Ibrahim* was very diſconſolate, 'till hearing that a Neighbour of his, a Moor of great Quality, had a moſt beautiful Daughter, he would needs ſee her, which, by the Help of an induſtrious old Woman, he effected, being for that purpoſe placed on the other Side of a Hedge which ſurrounded her Father's Garden.

FATIMA, that was the Lady's Name, appeared to the *Renegade* ſo charming a Perſon, that, by the Inſtigation of the old Woman, he inſtantly made his Addreſſes to her, offered her the richeſt Preſents, and ſwore to marry no other Wife if ſhe would conſent to become his. *Fatima* was deaf to all his Intreaties, refuſed his Preſents, and treated him for a long Time with the moſt haughty Diſdain. At length ſhe ſent him word by the old Woman that ſhe ſuſpected he was ſtill a Chriſtian in his Heart, and that he kept up a Correſpondence with his Family in *Spain*. *Ibrahim* anſwer'd, that he had indeed a Father, Mother, and two Siſters, living when he left *Europe*, but that he had never heard of them ſince; to which *Fatima* reply'd, that as a Proof of his Love ſhe expected he ſhould bring them over to *Tetuan*, and that they ſhould ſerve them as Slaves.

IBRAHIM was ſo drunk with his Paſſion, that he immediately order'd his Veſſel to be got ready, and under the Favour of the dark Nights run over to the *Spa-* Coaſt, and landed as near as poſſible to his Father's Houſe, which ſtood about fifteen Miles from *Gibraltar*.

He

He immediately debarqued twenty Men, and having poſted them at the Foot of a Hill, about a Mile from his Father's Houſe, he went thither alone. Upon his Admittance he told his Family, that he, with ſix other Chriſtian Slaves, had made their Eſcape from *Tetuan*, that they had brought with them in their Bark a great Quantity of Gold and other Commodities of Value; he therefore begg'd that they would go with him to bring off his Share, to which, after embracing him with the warmeſt Teſtimonies of Affection, they joyfully conſented.

But as it required ſome Time for them to find Baſkets and other Conveniencies for tranſporting theſe Goods, *Ibrahim* propoſed that his Father ſhould go before, and offered to go with him in order to have the Things ſet on Shore, if his Companions did not incline to land at the ſame Place. The poor old Man, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting his Son, readily yielded to his Requeſt, and went with him towards the Sea-ſide. When they came to the Foot of the Hill, *Ibrahim* delivered his Father to his Crew, with Orders, if he made any Reſiſtance, to cut his Throat; his Men, however, had more Humanity than himſelf, for notwithſtanding the old Man cry'd out, they did not kill him, but gagg'd him as ſoon as they could. Not ſo ſoon, however, but that he alarmed the Country; ſo that before they could reach their Veſſel, they ſaw three or four hundred Men, Horſe and Foot between them and the Shore. Upon this they abandon'd their Priſoner, and obſerving where their Enemies were thinneſt, made a briſk Puſh, and got to their Veſſel.

The old Man finding himſelf at Liberty, quickly got the Gag out of his Mouth, and then told his Deli-

verers after what Manner he had been betray'd by his perfidious Son. Upon this Intelligence they poſted themſelves at the bottom of the Hill, till *Ibrahim* came with his Mother and Siſters, who ſuppoſing them to be his own Men, order'd them to carry thoſe Women to the old Man. *No thou Miſcreant!* cry'd his Father, *They ſhall carry thee back to be burnt for a Traitor to thy Country, and thy Faith!* He was after a Time conducted to the Priſon of the Inquiſition at *Seville*, and there being at that Time a Project of making a Deſcent on *Africk*, he was offered his Life if he would abjure the Religion of *Mohamed*. To which he reply'd, *I ſcorn it, I will die a Moor for the Sake of the moſt lovely Lady in* Africk. To this Reſolution he adhered, and was accordingly burnt a Year afterwards, without any Signs of Remorſe, or of any Senſe he had of his Condition.

My Maſter *Haſſan* was not above two Years old when his Father was taken Priſoner in *Spain*. He was taken Care of by his Uncle on the Mother's Side, who was alike attentive to his Education, and to the Increaſe of his Fortune. When he attained the Age of twenty, he was ſettled in a Houſe, married the Daughter of his Uncle, whoſe Name was *Dilferiba*, i. e. *the Raviſher of Hearts*, and they had eight thouſand Sequins given them to begin the World with. *Haſſan* fell to the ſame Trade which his Father had exerciſed; and being full of Mooriſh Reſentment, made frequent Deſcents on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and brought away great Numbers of People, and much Booty. At length, his Uncle being ſuſpected of an Intercourſe with Prince *Gailand*, was put to Death, whereupon *Haſſan* embarquing his Wife, four Female Slaves, my ſelf and another, together with his own and his Uncle's Treaſure, which had been confided

to

to him, on board his Veſſel, ſailed hither under *Spaniſh* Colours, where he lives rather like a Prince than a private Man, being the Protector of the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and keeping a ſtrict Correſpondence with his Relations in *Barbary*, receives from them whatever is moſt ſaleable in *Egypt*, and ſends them in Return the richeſt Commodities from hence. In order to this he travels four Times a Year to *Cairo*, and reſides there a Fortnight each Time.

From this Man, in the ſeveral Converſations I had with him, I learned abundance of curious Particulars with Reſpect as well to *Barbary* as *Egypt*, he having ſpent a great Part of his Life in that Country; but what I valued moſt was his Account of the Caravans which paſs annually to and from *Cairo* to *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Fez*, and *Morocco*; a ſtupendous March, not only thro' an uncultivated Country, but through burning Sands, abſolutely void of Shade or Water, and yet far from being free from noxious Animals, which add to the other Plagues, more than ſufficient to exerciſe the Patience even of an *Arab*. My Diſcourſes with *Vaſquez* take up an hundred Pages in my Diary, but I ſay no more of them here that I may purſue the Thread of my Narration.

After the Departure of Dr. *Salviati* for *Alexandria*, I ſpent moſt of my Time with Mr. *Perez*, and this *Vaſquez*, who came every Day to our Houſe, and brought us ſeveral Perſons who ſold us Curioſities at a reaſonable Rate; ſo that we quickly ſent another Cargo to Mr. *Fetherſtone*. One Day *Vaſquez*, who was informed that I ſtudied Phyſic, came earlier than uſual, and deſiring to ſpeak with me, told me I muſt go with him

that Moment to his Maſter. This I did not beſitate to do, though I had ſcarce dined, and the Weather was exceſſively hot. He conducted me to a back Door, which opened into his Maſter's Gardens, and ſtriking croſs them, brought me to a Summer-houſe, where his Maſter waited for me.

He was a Man extremely well made, about thirty Years of Age, and had all the Politeneſs of an *European*. He ſpoke *Italiān* and *Spaniſh* well, and *French* indifferently. He received me with great Civility, and after we had drank Coffee, enter'd upon the Buſineſs for which he had ſent for me. He told me that his Wife was in a very bad State of Health, and that though he had had the beſt and moſt skillful in the Art of Phyſick, both Men and Women, (for Men and Women practice alike in *Egypt*, and the latter are thought to underſtand the Diſeaſes attending their own Sex beſt) his Wife grew daily worſe, which induced him, on the Report of his Slave *Vaſquez*, to deſire my Aſſiſtance.

Upon inquiring of him as to the Symptoms of his Wife's Diſeaſe, I found that it was a complicated Caſe, ariſing from a Dropſy ill treated. He conducted me himſelf into an Apartment where the Lady was, whom I found about twenty-three Years old, a Native of *Sienna* in *Italy*, of an Olive Complexion, yet wonderfully beautiful, though not a little dejected. After encouraging her a little, and receiving an Aſſurance both from herſelf and her Huſband, that ſhe ſhould obſerve an exact Method as to Eating and Drinking, I undertook, and happily effected a Cure in a very ſhort Space. This procured me the Confidence and Favour of *Haſſan*, the moſt generous *Moor* I had ever Occaſion to converſe with.

His

His Mother's Brother, by whom he was brought up, had much Correſpondence with the Chriſtians, and taught his Nephew early to deſpiſe that Rudeneſs and Contempt which the *Moors* naturally have for all People of another Religion. He likewiſe engaged him to learn *Italian* and *Spaniſh* from his Slaves, as alſo to play on the Lute; withal he inſtructed him in the Policy of their Country, and exhorted him, in caſe any Accident befel himſelf, to quit it as early as he could, and to retire into *Egypt*, where he held a Correſpondence with ſome of the *Arab* Princes.

HASSAN made the beſt Uſe of ſo happy an Education; and having himſelf a great Genius as well as a deep Fund of Generoſity and good Nature, he brought all the Inſtructions that he received from his Uncle to operate for his Advantage. Though he was but a young Man, he had eſtabliſh'd an Intercourſe unthought of before. For going to *Cairo* as often as the Caravans arrived from *Barbary*, *Nubia*, *Mecca*, or *Syria*, he drew the chief Merchants the Beys or Princes of *Egypt*, and the petty Lords of the *Arabs*, to have a Confidence in him, and to make uſe of him as a common Friend in all their Negotiations, whereby he ſecured to himſelf a powerful Intereſt as well as great Riches. He took Care alſo to live upon mighty good Terms with the *Turkiſh* Governors, made annual Preſents to the Baſhaw at *Cairo*, and to his Officers, and ſecured the Friendſhip of every *Aga* he had Occaſion to tranſact with, by the never-failing Method of gratifying him with Money.

He did not, however, converſe much with any of the Inhabitants of *Roſetta*, being afraid leſt ſome of the Vice-Conſuls of the Chriſtian Powers ſhould penetrate

the Methods by which he furniſhed the *Tuniſtens*, and other Piratical States with Ammunition, in which he had often Addreſs enough to make themſelves bear a Part. Having one Day talked to me pretty freely on the Subject of my Voyage to *Egypt*, he obſerved that it appeared to him, as well as to the *Turks*, a very whimſical Thing, that Men ſhould with ſuch Pain and Hazard to themſelves, make ſuch long Journies purely to look at the Ruins of ancient Structures, and to carry home a few Medals, and ſuch like Curioſities. I took a great deal of Pains to remove this Notion out of his Head, tho' it was viſibly againſt my Intereſt, but to no manner of Purpoſe; he remain'd firm in his firſt Sentiments, which he ſupported by ſuch Arguments as theſe. That Life was ſhort and uncertain, and that therefore Men ought not to waſte it as Children ſpend their Hours of Play in picking up Bits of Metal, and broken Pieces of painted Earth, meerly to look upon them. That the Neceſſaries of Life were firſt to be ſought, then its Conveniencies; and theſe being obtained, it was more reaſonable to ſit down and enjoy them than to run up and down the World hunting for Baubles. That there were many uſeful Arts and Sciences highly profitable to the human Species ſtill unperfected, which therefore he thought deſerved our Attention much more than theſe Matters of Curioſity, which he ſaid muſt have very little in them becauſe he could not underſtand them; whereas he readily comprehended the Uſe and Service of other Things.

But when he was informed that I ſent all my Collections to a Correſpondent in *Italy*, who diſpoſed of them in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, he underſtood this to be highly reaſonable. For, ſaid he, whatever Men will buy

buy is worth the buying for them. He gave me a great many Curioſities, and procured me others at very ſmall Prices, taking no more of me than the Trifles with which he preſented Thoſe who brought them to him, and who were glad, by this or any other Method, to recommend themſelves to his Protection.

It happened, that as I viſited him one Day, and he was ſhewing me ſeveral Things that he received from the upper *Egypt*, I took Notice of three Emeralds, ſmall indeed, but of a Hardneſs and Beauty inexpreſſible, and far ſuperior to any thing I had ever ſeen. I make no queſtion but they were placed on purpoſe for me to look upon them, for as ſoon as I took them in my Hand, and began to conſider them, *Haſſan* fixed his Eyes full upon me, and did not withdraw them 'till I laid down the Stones. You *Franks*, ſaid he, upbraid the *Turks* with Avarice, and yet you can ſee nothing valuable yourſelves but preſently it takes up all your Thoughts. Tell me, what would you think of a Country where theſe were to be had in Plenty? I ſhould think my ſelf, ſaid I, very happy in the Diſcovery of it, provided too many of them were not brought from thence. Well, replied *Haſſan*, I will think of it, and ſome time or other, perhaps, I may talk to you further on this Subject. That ſome time or other, ſaid I, muſt not be far diſtant, ſince within a very few Days I intend to ſet out for *Cairo*. Well, ſaid he, I ſhall ſee you there, and it will better ſerve our Purpoſes to diſcourſe of that Matter there than here. I would gladly have renewed the Converſation, but was afraid it might make him uneaſy, and therefore I readily turned our Diſcourſe to another Subject.

He had often asked me about the Aſtrologers in *Europe*, and on my telling him that they were a Race of Cheats, and were only able to impoſe upon the Vulgar; he ſeemed amazed, and immediately enquired how it came to paſs, that ſuch as were ſo well acquainted with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, as the *European* Doctors were, ſhould yet know ſo little of this Art. I then told him plainly my Sentiments, that there was really nothing ſolid in this Art, and that notwithſtanding the Prepoſſeſſion of the *Turks* and *Perſians* in its Favour, it was, and had been always rather a Species of Villainy than a Service. I never ſaw *Haſſan* diſturbed or angry upon any Occaſion but this, I had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than looking upon me with an Air of Diſdain and Contempt, *Chriſtian* ſaid he, I thought thou hadſt been wiſer, but I find there are Men every where, who believe juſt what they receive from their Prieſts; I know Aſtrology is againſt thy Law, and therefore thou contemneſt it. In order to appeaſe him, I aſſured him that was not the Caſe, for that in *Europe*, the far greater Part of the People were ſtrongly prejudiced in Favour of Aſtrology, Why then ſaid he, art thou an Infidel? Doſt thou preſume to ſet thy own Wiſdom above that part of the World and this? With much ado I brought him to hear my Arguments againſt the Solidity of this Art; but they made no manner of Impreſſion on him, he would needs have it, that the disbelief of Aſtrology was a kind of Atheiſm, and in Effect denying the Providence of God. This Diſcourſe had like to have been fatal to me, for it ſeems, Aſtrology was his favourite Study, and whenever he had any leiſure Moments, this and Chemiſtry were his only

Care;

Care; but as yet he concealed his Affection to and Skill in theſe Arts from me, as from a Perſon full of Infidelity.

In Order to regain his good Opinion, I bethought myſelf of enquiring whether he had never heard of *Geomancy*, and upon explaining what I meant, he was mightily ſurprized, not conceiving that this ſort of Divination had ever been practiſed in *Europe*. But when I aſſured him it had, and that ſeveral Books had been written upon it, which however were ſcarce, and very ſecretly preſerved for fear of the *Inquiſition*, he ſeemed mightily pleaſed, telling me he would give a 100 *Sequins* for a good Manuſcript on this Subject in *Italian*; I promiſed him to write to my Correſpondent, tho' I had previouſly ſettled the Matter in my own Head, having accidentally among my Books, the Treatiſe written by Dr. *Flood* on that deluſive Art, printed at *Venice*, which I reſolved to tranſlate into *Italian* for his Uſe, tho' not without ſome Reluctance. I could not finiſh it before the Time came in which we were to ſet out for *Cairo*. When therefore I took my Leave of him, I told him that I had ſent Inſtructions to *Alexandria* to diſpatch the Book I had writ for after me, when it ſhould arrive, to *Cairo*. He thanked me, ſeemed mightily pleaſed, gave me Inſtructions how to find his Houſe, and a Letter for an *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries*.

In the beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, we embarked at *Roſetta*, having hired a Boat to carry us and our Things, and a *Janiſſary* to attend us. As we treated this Man with more than ordinary Generoſity, he was on his Side very kind to us, and readily went aſhore with

with us, when and where we pleaſed. All the Banks of the *Nile* up which we navigated, were covered with Villages ſo thick, that it looks almoſt like a continued Town, and as I have been informed, the Heart of the *Delta* is as thoroughly inhabited, there being a multitude of Canals, which ſerve not only to paſs from one Place to another, but which alſo unite the two great Branches of the *Nile*, particularly one which is greater than the reſt, called the Canal of *Roſetta*, whereby one croſſes the *Delta* into the other Branch of the *Nile*, and then fall eaſily down it to *Damietta*.

At *Fezzara*, where we made ſome Inquiry after Curioſities, the People brought us ſome broken Stones, and counterfeit Idols, which we refuſed to buy; our *Janiſſary* thereupon told us, that he would carry us to a Place where lately a great many of theſe Things had been diſcovered, and to which as yet no *European* had come. We readily accepted his Offer, and by his Direction the Maſter of the Veſſel turned out of the *Nile* into a large Canal on the left, paſſing between two great Villages; when we had ſailed up this Canal about 20 Miles, the *Janiſſary* went aſhore with us, and after walking 3 or 4 Miles, he brought us to a Place called *Balken*, which as he told us ſtood in the Centre of the *Delta*, at equal Diſtance from *Roſetta*, *Damietta*, and *Cairo*. Here we firſt repoſed ourſelves at the Houſe of another *Janiſſary*, and afterwards went with our Conductor, and 3 or 4 other People, to a Place without the Town, where aſcending a little Eminence, we ſaw a ſort of Well, into which we were all let down; it was paved with *Roman* Brick, and appeared to have been antiently a very elegant Structure; but theſe new Diſcoverers had broke

broke to Pieces the Wall and Pavement, and beſides it was ſo damp, that it was with great Difficulty we could keep the Lights which we carried down with us from going out. Mr. *Perez* therefore concluding we ſhould make no great Diſcoveries, declined ſtaying any longer. In our Return to *Balken*, we bought of thoſe who went with us, near 100 Medals of different Sizes, and different Metals, that is of Silver and Braſs, of moſt of the *Roman* Emperors, from *Auguſtius* to *Valerian*; and of ſeveral Empreſſes, as alſo ſome fine Pieces of *Cornelian*, and an *Amethiſt*, on which was engraven the Head of the Empreſs *Agrippina*. The whole did not coſt us 20 *Piaſters*. The next Day we returned into the *Nile*, and continued our Voyage to *Cairo*, without meeting with any Thing remarkable.

In ten Days after our Arrival in this City, where we received all imaginable Civilities from the *Aga*, to whom I was directed, my Patron *Haſſan* himſelf arrived, and ſent *Vaſquez* immediately to find me out, and to conduct me to him. The firſt Thing he asked for was his Book; I told him I expected it every Day, he then fell to other Things, and at laſt asked me if I knew nothing of the great Art, by which I found he meant Tranſmutation. I told him ingenuouſly that I did not, but that I had a Memoir upon that Subject, which was held very curious by thoſe who were well verſed in Chemiſtry. He defired to ſee it, and I accordingly carried it to him the next Time I went to ſee him. It was the Paper I received from my good Friend Mr. *Pucci*, and as *Haſſan* underſtood *Italian* very well, he read it with great Facility, and ſeemed to be charmed with it. When he had conſidered it a while, do you

believe

believe my Friend, ſaid he, it is poſſible to make this Powder? I told him, I could not tell, but that I had heard ſome very intelligent Perſons affirm that it was. You begin ſaid he, to be ſomewhat leſs of an Infidel than you were, but I will tell you what will perhaps make you give ſtill more Credit to this Opinion.

My Uncle was acquainted with a *Frank* who had ſome of this Powder, tho' as he ſaid, he knew not how to make it. The Method in which he uſed it was this, he took an equal Quantity of Gold Duſt, and of fine Silver, he melted firſt the one, and having put into it a little of his Powder, he cauſed the other to be melted, and pour'd in alſo; when it was taken out, the whole Maſs was Gold finer then any of your Coin. The Quantity he had of this Powder was but ſmall, and when he died, which was at *Tunis*, he deſired a Perſon in whom he confided, to carry it to my Uncle, which accordingly he did, and he actually performed the ſame Experiment therewith, as the *Frank* had formerly done. I did not ſhew any Signs of diſbelief, tho' I was exceedingly ſurprized to find ſuch Notions ſpread into theſe Countries; tho' I have been ſince well informed, that there are abundance of Alchymiſts in *Perſia*, and *Grand Tartary*, and above all in *China*, where it is common for Men to ſpend great real Eſtates in the Purſuit of theſe imaginary Treaſures.

By the Way I muſt take Notice, that it is not impoſſible that the Story told by *Haſſan* might be true, and yet that Powder is far from being the Philoſopher's *Arcanum*; becauſe it is certain, that a Powder capable of ſuch a Tranſmutation, hath been, and may be made. As to the Method of projecting, by putting equal quantities

tities of Gold and fine Silver, it was in all likelihood no more than an Artifice, to give the greater Weight and Solemnity to the Experiment; the Eſſence of which conſiſted in this. Some *Chemiſts* in *Germany* have found out a Method of concreting Gold, that is, of throwing off its groſſer Parts, and retaining only the Eſſence of the Metal. We will ſuppoſe, that out of 2 Ounces of Gold, 10 Grains of this *Semen* could be extracted; this then being put into a Crucible, wherein 2 Ounces of fine Silver melted were before, would produce 2 Ounces of Gold, which with ſome ſort of Propriety might be ſtiled a *Tranſmutation*. But then this is an introductory Experiment only; for it is plain, that the Tranſmutation is ſo far from being beneficial, that there is a conſiderable Loſs thereupon, firſt in working upon the Gold, and ſecondly, of the whole Price of the Silver wrought upon. Yet am I perſuaded, that it is a Powder of this Nature which hath given the greateſt Reputation to *Alchymy*, a Study which ſo intoxicates the Head of thoſe who profeſs it, that they take thoſe for their Enemies who endeavour to undeceive them; this together with an Enthuſiaſtick Opinion, that this kind of Knowledge is beſtowed by GOD, and that *Faith quoad hoc*, is the moſt certain Means of obtaining it, keeps them everlaſtingly chain'd to the Furnace, till they have nothing left where with to make it ſmoak.

HASSAN's great Foible was his Love of the *occult Sciences*, of which I had the ſtrongeſt Proof, when I preſented him the *Treatiſe* on *Geomancy*, which I had tranſlated into *Italian*, and illuſtrated with Notes, taken from the Works of *Cornelius Agrippa*, and Mr. *John Heydon*. He received it as a new *Revelation*, he ſtudied

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it intenſely, and in a ſhort Time practiſed it exactly, preferring it greatly to the Method he had before uſed, and aſſuring me, that he would tranſlate it into *Arabick*, which was far from giving me any Satisfaction, ſince I could not help thinking, that I had already committed a very great Fault, in thus condeſcending for the Sake of temporal Views, to further and ſupport a ſuperſtitious Practice, which I knew to be ſuch, and in myſelf condemned and deſpiſed. However I was conſtrained to conceal my Thoughts before *Haſſan*, who like all Bigots, held it Impiety to queſtion or ſuſpect the Certainty of his darling *Sciences*; and I confeſs I did it the rather, becauſe I ſaw myſelf now perfectly in his good Graces, and began to hope, that I ſhould reap conſiderable Effects there from.

As the Weather permitted, and Occaſion offered, I went with Mr. *Perez* to viſit all the Curioſities, not only in the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, but at a conſiderable Diſtance, and we were ſo lucky as to fall on a Method of buying Rarities, which ſtood us in great ſtead; it was this, we conſtantly refuſed to buy any Thing of a Perſon who had attempted to impoſe upon us, and we paid more generouſly than the *Franks* uſually do, for ſuch Things as were brought us in a fair Way, and of theſe we had as many, or rather more Offers than we well knew how to comply with. For all theſe Things Mr. *Perez* and I traded out of the joint Stock; but as to other Things, eſpecially precious Stones, we made ſuch Purchaſes as we thought fit at our proper Expence, and at our proper Riſque. Mr. *Perez* was extremely well fitted for the Buſineſs he had undertaken; he had as great a Propenſity to the occult Sciences

ences as any *Arabian* or *Turk* of them all, and underſtood them much better. This was ſufficient to recommend him, ſo that except going now and then to the *French* Conſuls, and a *Venetian* Merchant's, he was continually taken up with theſe Virtuoſi. Amongſt theſe there was one *Solomon Effendi*, who paſſed for the moſt skilful Aſtrologer in *Cairo*; he even pretended to have a Power of compelling the Spirits of Perſons departed to appear before him, and anſwer in any Language the Queſtions he propoſed to them; he likewiſe boaſted of mighty Secrets in Chemiſtry, which for a while took up Mr. *Perez*'s Attention; but at length he was convinced that he was a meer Pretender, and at the Bottom knew little or nothing except how to amuſe the People, and by a cunning Train of Queſtions to draw from themſelves thoſe Anſwers they expected from him. He likewiſe had ſome Acquaintance with a *Poliſh* Renegade, whoſe Name was *Muſtapha*, who was become an *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries*, and very rich, and this by an Accident ſingular enough to deſerve mention.

HIMSELF and his Siſter were carried away by the *Tartars*, when they were about ſeven Years of Age, and were ſold at *Conſtantinople*; the Girl growing up prov'd an exquiſite Beauty, and falling by Purchaſe into the Hands of the Captain Baſhaw, he became ſo much in Love with her, that he preferr'd her to all the Women he had. It ſo happened, that on the Return of the Baſhaw from making a Tour in the *Archepelago*, a black Eunuch who was with him, acquainted the *Poliſh* Lady that he had ſeen among the Slaves who rowed the Gally, one perfectly like her, and much of the ſame Age. This put her upon recollecting, and a Day or two

afterwards ſhe told the Eunuch that ſhe remembered when ſhe was taken out of her own Country, her Brother was taken with her, and that becauſe he lay down, and would not follow the *Tartar*, he nipped a Piece out of his Ear. The black Eunuch taking Occaſion to find out the Slave he had mentioned, examin'd him, and found in his left Ear the Mark. The Captain Baſhaw thereupon immediately ſet him at Liberty, and having perſwaded him to turn *Turk*, and recommended him to his Brother, who was then a *Sanjack* in *Egypt*; he by Degrees, and frequent Demonſtrations of an extraordinary Valour, was raiſed to this Poſt, in which however he was not beloved, by reaſon of his exactneſs in Point of Diſcipline; he was a Man of good Senſe, tho' of no Learning, mightily addicted to Aſtrology, and furiouſly zealous for the Religion which he had embraced, whether thro' Ignorance or Policy, I am not able to determine.

Some Times we went attended by a *Janiſſary* to viſit the *Monks*, if I may be allowed to call them ſo, who live in the Skirts of *Cairo*, and are indeed the moſt learned of any *Mohammedans*. Theſe by the *Arabians* are called *Derviſes*, concerning whom our Travellers fall frequently into Miſtakes, by confounding them with the *Santons*, from whom in reality they differ only as much as a wiſe Man does from a Fool. In the Road which leads to *Suez*, there is a Monaſtery, wherein live between 30 and 40 of theſe *Monks*, who ſpend all their Time in Prayer, in Study, or in manual Labour, when they go abroad they walk two and two, but then they generally ſeek out ſolitary Places, and they ſeldom enter the Cities or any of the Villages about them.

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They are remarkably kind to, and fond of the Converſation of *Franks*, eſpecially ſuch as have Learning, and are not Prieſts. With theſe they converſe freely on all Subjects, particularly Religion, of which they think as freely as any People in the World. All their Diſcourſes are either of Divinity or Philoſophy; ſometimes they diſpute concerning the Immortality of the Soul, at others of the apparent Juſtice of Providence, moſt of them have much higher Ideas of JESUS CHRIST, than are common amongſt the *Turks*; and in general theſe Men greatly deteſt that Impurity of Manners which prevails ſo much among thoſe of their Religion. In their own Conduct they are moſt exemplary, meek, pious, charitable, and continually ready to do any good Office that is deſired of them.

AS to the *Santons* again, they are a ſort of Hermits living ſingly in Caves or Woods, and coming frequently enough like Beaſts out of their Dens to run through Villages and Cities. They are moſt of them really, or in Shew at leaſt, dementated, which amongſt the *Turks* is a ſtrong Sign of Sanctity. They enter what Houſes they pleaſe, ſeat themſelves without Ceremony, ſay what they will, eat and drink whatever they can lay Hands on; and all this is taken in good Part. They carry their Brutality ſo far as to lay hold of Women, and deflour them in the open Streets, but above all, they diſtinguiſh themſelves by a furious Hatred to Chriſtians, whom they will ſometimes wound or kill in publick Places, and this with Impunity; ſo that it is always a prudential Maxim to keep out of theſe Fellows Way.

ONE need not wonder ſo much at this Superſtition among the *Turks*, if one recollects that the ſame Hy-

mour prevailed among the ancient *Greeks*, who fancied that there was ſomething of Divinity in the Anſwers given by Idiots. To ſay the Truth, almoſt all the Notions of Divination amongſt the Ancients or Moderns are as whimſical as this, and as much irreconcileable to good Senſe; however, in this Caſe, let us try to reconcile it. A Man quits that Guide God has given him, his Reaſon, and what then? Why he liſtens to thoſe who have not the Uſe of Reaſon. Methinks the Change is natural enough; perhaps it would appear more ſo if we could compare enough of theſe Predictions with their Events. In *Europe* a Man who loſes his Senſes is ſent to a Priſon, in *Aſia* and *Africk*, he paſſes for a Saint; theſe are certainly Extremes. In *Europe* we degrade human Nature by our treating Madmen like Beaſts; in *Aſia* and *Africk* Men degrade themſelves into Beaſts by ſuffering themſelves to be mal-treated by thoſe who are no longer on a Par with them. None of theſe Evils could poſſibly happen if we liſtened to the Dictates of Nature, which never incline us either to injure others, or to ſubmit tamely to Injuries which it is in our own Power to prevent.

ABOUT the Middle of the Month of *March* we received from *Alexandria*, by Means of a Veſſel arrived there from *Leghorn*, a Packet from Mr. *Fetherſtone*, it contained a Letter from him to Mr. *Perez*, another directed to us both, and a third addreſſed to me. The firſt, I ſuppoſe, related to the private Affairs of my Companion, the ſecond brought an Account of the Produce of what we had conſigned to him, with two Memoirs encloſed, one concerning the Value of Mummies, the other relating to the Choice of Medals. Mr. *Fetherſtone* obſerved,

obſerved, that the Humour of forming Cabinets, and making great Collections of Curioſities of all Sorts encreaſed daily not only in *Italy*, but in *France*, and in the *North*; ſo that provided they were judiciouſly collected, all Sorts of Rarities might, by a prudent Management, be diſpoſed of to a greater Profit than any Merchandize whatſoever. In my Letter was encloſed ſome Remarks on the Value of colour'd Stones, wherein, amongſt other Things, my Friend noted, that the moſt judicious Perſons were at a Loſs as to the Ground of that Diſtinction, which had hitherto been made between oriental and occidental Emeralds, there being a great Doubt whether there were in truth any oriental Stones of that Sort. That, however, it was held reaſonable to preſerve the Diſtinction, becauſe it was evidently founded in Nature, there being one Kind of Emerald harder, brighter, and clearer, than thoſe commonly brought from the *Weſt-Indies*; which kind was yet in great Eſteem, though the other, by being become common, were much ſunk in their Value. At the ſame time we received certain *European* Goods, ſome Toys, and other Curioſities.

Among theſe was a Gold Watch made at *London*, which ſtruck the Hour and half Hour; this I carried to my Patron *Haſſan*, who was extremely pleaſed with it, and who for it and the Manuſcript of *Geomancy* gave me the three ſmall Emeralds I ſpoke of, which were worth 250 Sequins, or better. As ſoon as an Opportunity offered, I ſent two of theſe to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, aſſuring him, that they were of that kind which were ſtiled oriental. The next Time I went to viſit *Haſſan*, who was juſt returned from *Roſetta*, he opened to me

the Deſign he had formed when I had firſt Admittance to him, and of which, though I did not apprehend them, he had given me frequent Hints ſince. At this Viſit he took Notice to me of the inſatiate Avarice of the *Turks*, and of their expecting annually greater and greater Preſents for the Favours he received from them, which in the End, he ſaid, would make it impoſſible for him to continue longer in *Egypt*. He ſpoke next of the Difficulty of retiring from thence without leaving the beſt Part of his Effects behind him; and at laſt, as if he had been weary of this Diſcourſe, and intended to have talked of ſomewhat elſe, he asked me what I thought of the Emeralds I had had of him, and whether larger ones of like Beauty were not valuable in *Europe*; I told him they were, but that they were not eaſily to be had. I know it, reply'd he, and I know both what they are worth and how to diſpoſe of them, and if I knew a Man whom I could truſt, perhaps I would ſay that I know where to find them. I then began to apprehend what it was he aimed at. I told him that I did not doubt, that after having ſo long and ſo happily managed ſo extraordinary a Commerce, he knew many valuable Secrets, and alſo a great many Perſons to whom they might be confided. You are miſtaken, my Friend, ſaid he, I ſcarce know any of the former, and for the latter I know none. Our *Arabs* and *Moors* know perfectly well their own Affairs, and how to manage them; there are alſo among them Men of great Probity; but, with reſpect to the Buſineſs I would have performed, there are none of them fit to be employed. There is ſhortly a Caravan to ſet out for *Syria*. Under pretence of ſending certain Commodities therewith, I can ſend ſome of my People with

with ſix or eight Camels laden with Money, if you will go with them to *Suez*, where, on preſenting a Letter which I will give you to an *Arab* Chief, who lives not far from thence, he will ſhew you ſome of theſe Stones, and you will, no doubt, make the beſt Bargain for me you can. I conſent alſo that you ſhall employ as much Money of your own as you pleaſe in the ſame Way. I immediately accepted this Propoſal, without well weighing the Conſequences of truſting my ſelf alone with the Dependants of a *Moor*, People with whom no *Frank* in *Cairo* would have ventured himſelf in the Deſart. But Avarice, like all other Paſſions, ſo choaks up the Paſſages of the Underſtanding, that no Thoughts which wear not its Livery can have Entrance.

When I had once taken this Reſolution, I endeavoured as ſtudiouſly to conceal the Motives thereto from Mr. *Perez* and our Servant, as if they had been my Enemies, and why? becauſe I knew them too well to believe they would ever ſuffer me to expoſe my ſelf to ſo imminent a Danger. I provided, therefore, privately, two hundred Sequins in Gold; and having informed Mr. *Perez* that I had a Mind to travel to *Suez*, he at firſt oppoſed it, but when he ſaw I continued firm in my Reſolution, he yielded to it, and aſſiſted me in providing for my Journey. The Reaſons I offered to him were, that I had heard many valuable Commodities were to be bought there; that I was in hopes of picking up Curioſities which might eſcape us in this Part of *Egypt*, and that I had an earneſt Deſire to look upon the Red Sea. While I waited for the Departure of the Caravan, my Thoughts were ſo much diſturbed with the Ideas of this

Journey, that I found it very difficult to ſleep, and was thereby much incommoded.

OF this I one Day complained to *Haſſan*, who immediately rallied me thereupon, as a Phyſician of ſmall Experience, or at leaſt as one who did not care to practiſe much upon my ſelf. He then asked me if I had not yet learned the *Turkiſh* Method of calming the Mind. I thought at firſt he meant Opium, or ſome other Drug of that Sort; but he preſently call'd for a young Man, and, as ſoon as he appeared, ordered him to read where he left off the Night before. The Lad took up a Book, and did as he was directed; *Haſſan* explaining to me every Period. When the Boy had done reading, *Haſſan* raiſed ſeveral Queſtions on the Story we had heard; and perceiving that my Humour was quite changed, You ſee, ſaid he, my Friend, that we are not ſuch Barbarians as many of the *Franks* believe us. It is indeed the worſt Property your People have that they are extremely vain and conceited, wedded to their own Cuſtoms, and yet provoked to ſee others tenacious of theirs. I know that many *Franks* laugh at our Hiſtories, and at this Method of ſoothing our Cares; yet I conceive that it is as natural and as innocent as drinking great Quantities of Wine, or Gaming, which are your common Diverſions. And though our Hiſtories differ much, as I am informed, from yours, yet that is no Reaſon that they ſhould be either fabulous or fooliſh. Our Manners have always differed, as alſo our Methods of conducting War and Peace, our Learning and our Pleaſures. Why then ſhould our Hiſtories be like yours? Or why ſhould they be deſpiſed for being unlike them? Is not this a Mark of your

your Vanity and Pride, rather than of your Knowledge or Politeneſs? I could not help admitting that he had Reaſon for what he ſaid; and I do confeſs that there is to me nothing more ſtrange, than that our Writers of Travels ſhould cenſure the *Turks* for their Inclination to hear Tales and Stories read to them at their Leiſure Moments, when at the ſame time if this very Inclination did not prevail among Chriſtians, their Books could not be read at all. How eaſily do we ſee Motes in others Eyes without minding the Beams in our own.

The Book which the Servant of *Haſſan* read had for its Title *Tarik-al-abbas*, i. e. The Hiſtory of the *Abaſſides*. The Story that he read was this. The famous *Caliph al-Mamon* had for his Uncle one *Ibrahim*, the Son by the Mother's Side, of a black Slave, a Man of a dusky Countenance, a little unweildy, but of great Parts, generous, good-humoured, a great Lover of Muſic, and one who had an excellent Voice. It ſo happened that the *Caliph*, by a ſingular Strain of Juſtice, which probably never enter'd the Head of any Prince but himſelf, declared for his Succeſſor the eldeſt of the Family of *Ali*, conceiving him to have a juſt Right to the Throne; and this he did in Prejudice to his own Children, and all his Relations. The Family of *Abbas* were not in the Humour of doing Juſtice at the Expence of that great Power which they had got into their Hands. They therefore took Advantage of a Meeting they had at *Bagdat*, and having ſolemnly depoſed *Al-Mamon*, elevated *Ibrahim* his Uncle to the *Caliphat*. This Prince reigned upwards of two Years with great Mildneſs, and much Applauſe; at the end of that Space *Al-Mamon* came at the Head of a great Army to beſiege *Bagdat*. *Ibrahim* finding

finding himſelf two weak to reſiſt his Nephew, abdicated the Government, and for ſome Time hid himſelf amongſt his Friends; but the *Caliph* having given ſtrict Orders to ſearch for him, and having promiſed a vaſt Reward to the Perſon who ſhould diſcover him, he was at laſt taken, and delivered to *Al-Mamon*. As ſoon as the *Caliph* knew that his Uncle was taken, he ſent for *Achmet*, his Grand Vizir, and aſked him what he ſhould do with him. *Father of the Faithful*, anſwered the Miniſter, *if thou ſhouldſt put him to Death, thou wouldſt therein follow the Example of many great Princes; but if thou ſhouldſt pardon him, and take him into Favour, thou wilt leave thy Example to all that are to follow thee.* The *Caliph* ſmiled, *I had already determined*, ſaid he, *to receive him not as the Uſurper of my Throne, but as the Brother of my Father*; having ſaid this, he ordered *Ibrahim* to be admitted, and having embraced him cordially, they ſupped together that Night.

When the Repaſt was finiſhed, *Uncle*, ſaid the Caliph, *one good Turn deſerves another; I have freely pardoned you, tell me then frankly the moſt extraordinary Adventure that hath befallen you during the Time you hid yourſelf.* With all my Heart, ſaid *Ibrahim*. You muſt know that I made it a Rule with me to lye but one Night in one Place, and the Time at which I choſe to retire from my Lodgings was about Noon, when there are but few People in the Streets. One Day when I had thus ſallied out, and was looking for a freſh Place of Refuge, I found myſelf over-againſt a Houſe, the Shop of which was ſhut up, and the Maſter was ſtanding at the Door, a Man of a dusky Complexion, flat Noſe, fat, and not unlike myſelf. I aſked him if it was not

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poſſible for me to repoſe my ſelf a little in his Houſe, he anſwered me very civilly in the affirmative, conducted me to an Apartment which lay quite behind, and having deſired me to make my ſelf perfectly eaſy, ſhot through the Houſe out of the Door, and locked it behind him. I confeſs his Conduct made a greater Impreſſion upon me than his Advice. I took it for granted he was gone to call the Guards, and I ſpent the Moments very reſtleſsly 'till his Return. It was not long before he came back loaded with Victuals, and attended by a Man who brought a Bed, Coverlid, and other Things. I thought, ſaid the Man, that it was not proper to ſerve you with what others had uſed, and therefore have bought every Thing new for you ; I get my Living as a *Barber*, but I endeavour to live like a good Man, therefore ſet your Mind at Reſt, and when you find you have a Stomach let us eat together and be merry. The Behaviour of the Man correſponded ſo exactly with his Language, that I could not help giving Credit to him, and therefore as ſoon as I had compoſed myſelf a little we ſpread the Table, and made a very hearty Meal. While I was eating, the *Barber* asked me if I did not ſome times drink Wine, I told him I did, and he immediately produced ſome as good as could be wiſhed. When we had finiſhed our Repaſt, my Hoſt entreated me to grant him one Favour, I told him I would with all my Heart, then preſenting me a Lute, this ſaid he, is a good Inſtrument, but to render its Harmony compleat, it ſhould be accompanied by a Voice like yours. This ſurprized me exceedingly, and I could not help asking, how he came to imagine that I had ſo good a Voice? My Lord ſaid he, you cannot be concealed, I know that

you

you are *Ibrahim*, the Uncle of our *Caliph*, and that he has promiſed 100,000 Pieces of Silver for diſcovering where you are. There needed no more than this, I inſtantly took the Lute, and accompanied it with my Voice. The *Barber* was mightily pleaſed, and when I had done ſinging, offered to ſing himſelf if I would accompany his Voice with the Lute, to which I readily yielding he performed with incredible Sweetneſs, and I asked with Aſtoniſhment where he had learned thoſe Airs, but he eaſily ſatisfied me, by informing me that he had lived for ſome Years with *Mouſſouli*, the moſt excellent Muſician of our Age.

THE next Day, when at my uſual Time I was about to depart, I offered my Landlord a Purſe of Gold as a Reward for his Kindneſs and Fidelity, but he refuſed it with an Air of Anger and Diſdain. *How odd*, my Lord ſaid he, *is your Behaviour, you ſee I have done every Thing in my Power to diſcharge what the Laws of Hoſpitality require, and you would rob me of the Fruits of all my Pains, by treating me as if I kept an Inn.* This ſaid *Ibrahim* was the moſt extraordinary Event which befel me while I ſuffered under your Diſpleaſure. The *Caliph* was extreamly pleaſed with this Recital, and lived thence forward with his Uncle, in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip to the Day of his Death, and left him as a Counſellor to his Succeſſor.

FROM this Time forward I took the Advice of my Patron, and whenever I found myſelf uneaſy and incapable of Repoſe, I inſtantly had Recourſe to one of the many Books of entertaining Narrations which are to be met with in this Country, moſt of the Oriental Hiſtories being indeed no other. There are many in *Arabick*, but

but the beſt of theſe ſort of Writings are in the *Perſian* Language. This, if I may be allowed the Phraſe, is the *Court Language of the Eaſt*, as the *Arabick* is the learned, ſo that we may compare the former to the *French*, and the latter to the *Latin*, without a tolerable Underſtanding of both which, there is no paſſing for an able Man. In *Egypt*, ſuch as apply themſelves to Study, take Care firſt to acquire the *Arabick*, then the *Perſian*, and laſtly the *Turkiſh* Language in Perfection; then they proceed to the Sciences, of which they have Syſtems as regular, their Method of teaching conſidered, as ours. Learning is however very expenſive, becauſe they have nothing but Manuſcripts, from which they will hardly be beaten by any Reaſons that we can offer them, ſince tranſcribing Books is a great Trade, employs many Hands, and is the firſt Reward of Learning, by producing to a diligent Perſon, and a good Scribe, a Livelihood on the Spot. Above all I think their Dictionaries are dear, the beſt and moſt comprehenſive cannot be bought under 100 *Piaſters*, not but ſometimes Manuſcripts are to met with pretty cheap. Many of the Learned boaſt of their Secrets in Phyſick and Chemiſtry, but if they have any, they are very tenacious of them, and they frequently prove but Trifles when they are known. I bought three Secrets for fixing Mercury, two of them were abſolutely falſe, and the third falacious; for after three Weeks, the Mercury became fluid again by the meer Operation of the Air. As ſoon as I was acquainted with *Haſſan* ſo far as to converſe with him about theſe Things, I received from him a fourth Method of performing the ſame Thing, *viz.* by boyling Mercury in the Juice of the Herb *Lunaria*, called

by

by the *Greeks Sellenitis*; but I never made the Experiment, becauſe I have Reaſon to think, that this Notion is built on the Doctrine of Signatures, which I confeſs I do not much eſteem, becauſe I ſcarce comprehend it at all; and I am perſwaded, that in moſt of the Inſtances which are produced to favour it, thoſe who produce them are miſtaken; but enough of this.

In the beginning of the Month of *April*, the Caravan ſet out, and on the 3d Day of the ſame Month I departed from *Cairo*, attended by two *Arabs*, who were privately recommended to me by *Haſſen*. Mr. *Perez*, two *Italian* and three *French* Merchants, with *Antonio*, came to ſee me on my Way, and I obſerved, that Mr. *Perez* when he took Leave of me, was under an extraordinary Concern. As for poor *Antonio*, he was all in Tears. All that Day we travelled through a ſandy Plain, every Grain of which ſeemed to be perfect Cryſtal; ſo that the Reflection of the Light from thence exceedingly hurt my Eyes. In the Evening we overtook ſix Camels, with ſeveral *Arabs* who belonged to them, and a Man, who immediately ſaluted me, told me his Name was *Morat*, and that he was my Slave. At firſt I did not underſtand him, but he ſoon let me know that he belonged to my Patron *Haſſan*, and that the Lading of theſe Camels were to be diſpoſed of by me, according to a Letter of Inſtructions which he delivered to me.

We ſlept together under a Tent, but found the Night exceſſively cool. Our Supper was very light, conſiſting only of Dates, and dried Fruits. As for the *Arabs* they mixed ſome Water and Flour, and having kneaded it into a Paſte, left it on a Cloth to heave

while

while they lighted a Fire, then throwing it on the Embers, and turning it often, at laſt they took it off half baked, kneaded it again in Salt and Oyl, and breaking it into little Pieces, eat it as comfortably and as merrily as if it had been the fineſt Proviſion in the World. The *Moor* entertained me the firſt part of the Night with many ſingular Stories of the Riches of *Egypt* which he ſaid were buried in all thoſe Vaults, and under all the Needles, about which the *Franks* were ſo curious; he alſo apprehended that our copying Inſcriptions was meerly with a View to diſcover the Contents of the Places from whence they were taken. He likewiſe ſeriouſly aſſured me that our Friend *Haſſan* had a Book containing an Inventory of all the hidden Treaſures in *Egypt*, with Copies of the *Taliſmans* by which they were ſecured, and an Account of the manner by which their Force might be diſſolved. I confeſs at this Time I thought all he ſaid the Effects of pure Imagination, but I have been ſince informed, that there is in reality a Book of this ſort, and that ſome Copies have been carried into *Europe*.

THE fourth of *April* we continued our Journey ſlowly, pleaſantly, and with great Unanimity amongſt ourſelves, for I went into all the Folly of the *Arabs*, and liſtened attentively to every Thing they told me, as if I had regarded all their Sayings as the moſt authentick Oracles. We ſlept that Night on a little Slip of Land, on which there was Graſs, and where a few Sheep were feeding. I taſted that Graſs out of Curioſity, and found it brackiſh; I bought one of the Sheep and gave it to the *Arabs*, who dreſſed it after their manner, I eat of it, and found it very good. Upon cutting up a Turf

Turf it appeared that the Earth was wonderfully charg'd with Nitre, I taſted that too, but excepting its coldneſs, it left no reliſh on the Palate at all.

THE fifth, we jogg'd on ſoberly as before, my *Arabs* adviſing me to walk ſometimes by the Side of the Camels, which change of Poſture refreſhed me exceedingly. We dined in a Valley, and as I apprehended, ſhould have ſupp'd and lain in one; but either I miſtook them, or our Guides themſelves were miſtaken, for we were obliged to ſleep in the Plain, and I found the Air very nipping, tho' the Day had been hot. We eat at Night ſome Salad, which we pick'd by the Way, and found it very cool and refreſhing.

THE ſixth, we began to travel early, and three Hours before Noon came to the Foot of the Mountains. They make a ſtrange Figure, many of them being hollow, as if Channels of Water had run under them, and to ſay the Truth, the Valleys we met with ſeemed to have been formerly the Beds of little Brooks. In the Afternoon we deſcended again into a great Plain, which extends quite to the *Red Sea*.

THE ſeventh, we aroſe early, and travelled very hard, in order to be at our Journey's End that Evening, which we with much Difficulty effected; but as it was late in the Evening before we came in ſight of *Suez*, and as the *Arabs* never enter Towns, I choſe to remain with them under their Tents, with which they were mightily pleaſed; for they eſteem nothing ſo much as a ready Conformity to their Cuſtoms.

THE next Day I went with my *Moor* to *Suez*, who conducted me to the Houſe of a Perſon who correſponded with *Haſſan*, and who received us with all imagina-

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ble Kindneſs and Reſpect, and diſpatched, as ſoon as we arrived, his Son to carry Advice to the *Bey* of our Arrival. We remained with this Man two Days, in which Space I eaſily took a View of the Town or Port of *Suez*, than which nothing can be conceived more contemptible in its appearance, or of higher Conſequence in its ſelf. It ſtands about a Mile from the Sea without Fortifications, and with a very indifferent Garriſon. There were at this Time three Ships there one *Turkiſh*, one *Arabian*, and one *Indian* Veſſel, a heavy, clumſy, ill built Thing, fit only for thoſe Seas, where upon the leaſt Squal of Wind they run into Port, and are ſometimes ſix Months in making a Voyage of a Week. Here are however vaſt Magazines of rich Goods, and it is wonderful that this Port being in the Hands of a Potentate who loves Money ſo well, is not made more beneficial, tho' as Things ſtand, he raiſes a vaſt Revenue from it. But what to me appears ſtill more amazing is the want of Attention among the Chriſtian Traders; for nothing can be plainer than that the ſettling a Factory here would be of prodigious Conſequence, and might in ſome Meaſure alter once again the Trade of the *Indies*. Land Carriage by Camels is very eaſy and cheap, and the Diſtance between *Suez* and *Damietta* not above 130 Miles; ſo that for ought I perceive, *Indian* Commodities might be carried from thence to *Marſeilles* in three Weeks, or a Month at fartheſt. I know very well that there is much Difficulty in treating with the *Turks* about altering old Cuſtoms, but I know full as well that there is no Cuſtom they will not alter, for the Sake of getting by it; but this by the way, having in another Place conſidered this Matter more at large

with a View to the Enlargement of our *Engliſh* Commerce, which publick Miniſters treat as Men of Quality do their Wives, with much outward Reſpect, and very little real Affection, often throwing away twice as much in their private Pleaſures as would be neceſſary to fulfil all the Ends, which if it were not for Expence, they pretend they would make it their Glory to obtain, as if every *Miſtreſs* had a Right to be profuſe except the *Publick*.

THE *Turk* at whoſe Houſe I was, had better Notions of Trade than are common to People of his Nation, which without queſtion was the Reaſon that *Haſſan* choſe him for his Correſpondent. He ſhewed me a great many curious Things, and amongſt others a Drawer of ſmall Pearl, which were very perfect, and were all bored; and therefore he valued them at a high Rate, Pearls being grown ſcarce of late Years at *Suez*, tho' the grand Fiſhery for them is in the *Red Sea*. He ſaid the *Arabian* Ladies were paſſionately fond of them, and making Uſe of them in Embroideries, occaſioned their bearing a much higher Price here than in *Europe*, where they were ſuddenly grown into diſeſteem. To ſay the Truth, I perceived plainly, that as to valuable Commodities which lay in little Room, they could not be bought to any great Advantage; but then again, as to more bulky Wares, very large Profit might without doubt be made upon them. *Iſouf Aga* had a very convenient Houſe, tho' it made but a very mean Figure. In an outward Apartment there was a Fountain of Water, which in thoſe Countries affords peculiar Pleaſure to the Eye, at the ſame Time that it is of the greateſt Uſe; this Apartment was neatly paved and lined

with

with a kind of Mats chequer'd Green and Straw Colour. Behind it was the Apartment in which he received Company, it was ſprinkled with ſweet ſcented Waters, and he was ſerved with Coffee and Tobacco of a kind ſuperior to any Thing I had ever taſted. His Coffee was roaſted, ground and boyled in the Space of 7 or 8 Minutes; ſo that it had an Oil upon it extreamly grateful to the Taſte, and comfortable to the Head. His Tobacco was made up into Rolls ſtrongly twiſted, ſo mild and pleaſant to the Taſte, that I thought ſome peculiar Art had been made Uſe of in curing it; but he aſſured me, that it was the natural Flavour of the Leaf, which he ſaid grew in *Arabia*, but my *Moor* affirmed the contrary, and I believe he was in the right.

In Diſcourſe the *Aga* acquainted me, that he had a young Son, whoſe Head was much out of Order at the full and Change of the Moon. I deſired to ſee the Child, and after having examined him ſtrictly, as to the Nature of his Complaints, I found Means by a Snuff to diſcharge a great quantity of fætid Matter by the Noſe, whereby the Child was immediately relieved, and I gave the Father Directions how to proceed in Caſe the Diſorder ſhould return, together with ſome Obſervations as to the Diet and Exerciſe of the Child, till ſuch Time as his Conſtitution was thoroughly ſettled. In return the *Aga* made me a Preſent of ſeveral Curioſities, and of a quantity of Papers which had belonged to a *Frank* who died at his Houſe. He could not tell of what Nation he was, tho' by his Papers it ſhould ſeem he was a *Frenchman*, by Profeſſion he was a *Surgeon*, and had lived in *Ethiopia* upwards of 25 Years, from whence with ſome Difficulty he had eſcaped to

Suez, in hopes without queſtion, that from thence he might find a Way of returning into *Europe*. This Man on Account of his Profeſſion was admitted into the Houſe of the *Aga*, and remained there three Months, moſt of which Time he was on a declining Condition, and at length died with great compoſure of Mind. What Effects he had, which I could not find were very valuable, came into the Hands of his *Hoſt*, who not being able to make any Uſe of his Papers, laid hold of this Opportunity of obliging me, which he did very effectually, there being in them abundance of curious Obſervations, with which otherwiſe I could never have been acquainted.

THE Meſſenger he had diſpatched to the *Bey*, being returned with an Account of the Place where we might find him, and with an Order that we ſhould immediately attend him, it was agreed that the very next Day we ſhould ſet out. I would have been glad to have been exactly informed whither we were to go, or at leaſt how far, but the Meſſenger declined giving me any Anſwer to either of theſe Queſtions, only he told us in general, that he would conduct us as ſafe and as ſpeedily to the *Bey* as we could deſire.

ON the 10th of *April* in the Morning, we returned to our *Arabs*, and about nine o'Clock ſet out, our Guide being mounted on an *Arabian* Courſer, and all the reſt of our Train on Camels. We travelled all that Day towards the Mountains, and encamped in the Evening near the Foot of them. The next Day, about Noon, we reached them, and having marched very ſlowly through a narrow troubleſome Road, we paſſed the Evening near the Ruins of an ancient Edifice. I went accompanied by

by our Guide, and by the Moor *Morat*, to take a View of them. They were of conſiderable Extent, and ſeemed to have conſiſted of a Square compoſed of ſmaller Buildings in the ſame Form with that in the Centre, which was ſtill pretty entire, and which was therefore the chief Object of our Curioſity. It was built in the Form of a Beehive, and might be about a hundred and eighty Feet in Height. There was an Entry, but it was quite choaked up with Sand, and we had not Time to let the *Arabs* remove it, which otherwiſe might eaſily have been done. I was aſſured, that in the Inſide of this Building there was a large Hall, and in the Centre of it a Stair-caſe deſcending into another Hall underneath, from whence there were Galleries of Communication, which led to all Sides of the Squares. All theſe Structures were built of that which is called *Thebaic* Marble, or the Stones hewed out of thoſe very Rocks through which we travelled. Early the next Morning we ſet out again, and ſoon enter'd a large plain Road cut with infinite Labour in the Rock, in which we travelled all that and the next Day.

On the 14th, about two in the Afternoon, we turned off on the Right, and having without much Difficulty deſcended the Mountains, we came to the Habitation or Palace of the Bey *Mehemed*, to whom being preſented by our Guide, we were very graciouſly receiv'd, and had the Honour of eating with him. At Supper he only enquired generally of the Health and Welfare of *Haſſan*, whom he ſtiled his Brother, and of whom he ſpoke with the warmeſt Tokens of Affection, At parting he told us that he would ſpeak to me the next Day on the Buſineſs of my Journey, accordingly the next

Morning, after I had eaten ſome dried Fruits and Bread, which were brought me by an *Abyſſine* Slave, together with a pleaſant kind of Sherbet, I was conducted to a Summer-houſe, where the *Bey* ſat on a Sofa ſmoaking. He was upwards of fifty Years old, well-ſhaped, and a venerable Perſon in his Aſpect. He treated me with much Civility, and after ſome Diſcourſe on different Subjects, he aſked me whether *Haſſan* had not charged me with another Letter than that which I had given him the Night before: I told him he had, but that my Inſtructions were not to part with it 'till he had ſolemnly promiſed not to diſcover its Contents. This he readily complied with, and I thereupon immediately put the Letter into his Hand. He read it with ſome Emotion, and when he had read it, continued for ſome time ſilent and thoughtful. At length he renewed the Converſation.

FRIEND, ſaid he, *Haſſan* need not have commanded thee not to part with his Epiſtle 'till I had promiſed to conceal its Contents. He knew well enough that I dare not mention them; and I ſuppoſe he knows thee very well, otherwiſe he would not have put my Safety and his own into your Hands: Tell me, therefore, how you became acquainted with him; how long and how far you have ſerved him. Upon this I entered into a genuine Detail of my Correſpondence with *Haſſan*, and did not fail to mention the Book I had procured him from *Europe*, and our Diſcourſes on Chemiſtry, in hopes that this might be the Foible of *Mehemed*, as well as of *Haſſan*; in which I happened to judge right.

THE *Bey* heard me with great Attention, and without once interrupting me while I was ſpeaking, but he kept his Eyes very ſteadily fixed upon me; and when I had finiſhed

finiſhed my Narration, told me he was glad that *Haſſan* had ſent him ſo intelligent a Perſon, and that he would take another Opportunity of converſing with me upon theſe Subjects. I was then conducted back to my Apartment by the Slave, who had attended me the Night before, and who in my Abſence had brought into my Room a Chair, a Table, and ſome other Utenſils neceſſary to a *European*. This Slave was about 30 Years of Age, extremely diligent, modeſt and docile; ſo that he furniſhed me with whatever I aſked for, and informed me of ſuch Things as I thought fit to aſk about, with a great deal of Frankneſs. I acted, however, with great Caution, on Account of what the *Bey* had ſaid, which to me implyed little leſs than that I was upon my good Behaviour, and that according as he conceived of my Conduct, he ſhould either truſt me, or provide for his own and his Friend's Security at my Expence.

At Noon we eat together with *Morat*, and two other Perſons, in the Evening he ſent for me, and we had a long Converſation, wherein I diſcovered that he was a univerſal Scholar, a Thing not ſo rare as we imagine among the *Arabs*, eſpecially thoſe of Quality, ſuch as him of whom I am ſpeaking, whoſe Anceſtors had been immemorially Lords or Governors of this Part of *Egypt*, and were held to be deſcended from its ancient Princes. *Mehemed* told me amongſt other Things, that he had in his Youth ſtudied *Elm-al-Nogioum*, i. e. The Science of the Stars, or what we call Aſtrology. But he ſaid that it created a great deal of Uneaſineſs, hindered him from acting according to the Rules of Prudence, and filled him with Suſpicions. To divert his Mind from a Science ſo little productive of Pleaſure or Profit, he apply'd himſelf

ſelf to ſtudy *Al-Ecſir*, i. e. *Alchymy*, whence our Word Elixir. This perfectly anſwered his End. For as it involved him in a long Train of Speculations and Experiments, ſo it kept him, by a continual Succeſſion of Purſuits, from returning to the Study of Aſtrology, and, at the ſame Time, furniſhed the Means of diverting his leiſure Hours. He was far from being ſo great an Enthuſiaſt as *Haſſan*. Time, Experience, and a larger Fund of Knowledge, had eradicated that Fierceneſs and Obſtinacy ſo natural to the *Arabians*, and taught him a philoſophical Calmneſs rarely to be met with in Chriſtendom. One of his Maxims was never to diſcourſe on a Subject he did not underſtand, or to conceive that he underſtood any Thing ſo well as not to want farther Inſtruction. With all this Wiſdom he ſeem'd to be thoroughly perſuaded that Tranſmutation was very poſſible; that it had been formerly known and practiſed in the *Indies*, and that there was Reaſon to believe the *Bramins*, whom he called *Giogbis*, i. e. Religious Perſons, were ſtill acquainted with it. He informed me, that one of theſe becoming a *Mohammedan*, had tranſlated the whole Body of their Philoſophy into *Arabick*, under the Title of *Merat-al-Maani*, or the *Speculum* of Science, which Book he purchaſed at a very high Price, but found it written in a dark and figurative Stile; ſo that it was not of great Uſe to him. A Proof upon which he principally inſiſted, was the Treaſures found in the *Indies* by the Sultan *Mahmut* the *Gaſnavite*, which by authentic Authors were affirmed to exceed ſixty Millions of Sequins in Gold, coined and uncoined. Theſe Treaſures, in his Opinion, were not the pure Effects of Nature, but were rather owing to the Art of the *Indian* Sages. In ſuch

Diſcourſes

Diſcourſes as theſe we paſſed away a Fortnight, which would have been ſpent pleaſantly enough if I had not been apprehenſive that not only *Haſſan*, but my Friend *Perez*, would be extremely alarmed at my Stay; of which, to ſay the Truth, I knew not what to think myſelf.

To divert the Time as well as I could, I began to look over the Papers of the *French* Surgeon, which had been given me by *Iſouf Aga*. Amongſt them I found an exact and conciſe Deſcription of the Empire of *Abyſſina*, concerning which I had aſſiduouſly enquired at *Cairo*, but was able to learn no more News concerning it there than if I had been at *Geneva* or *London*, except that the Riches of this extenſive Empire were brought into *Egypt* by the *Nubian Caravans*. In reading this Diſcourſe, I collected a ſmall Paper of Queries, upon which I interrogated *Melec*, the *Abyſſine* Slave, who attended me; his Anſwers ſerved as a kind of Annotations to the Account afore-mention'd, and ſet me perfectly at reſt as to many Points which 'till then I thought utterly unintelligible, *European* Authors being extremely confuſed in all that they deliver concerning this Empire and its Inhabitants.

On the laſt Day of *April*, being ſent for by the *Bey*, to confer with him in the Afternoon, I found him, as I thought, in a little Hurry, and after ſome previous Converſation, he told me that he intended the next Morning to carry me abroad with him, in order to ſhew me the Ruins of an ancient City at no great Diſtance; therefore he deſired I would be ready as early as I could. I confeſs I knew not what to make of this Invitation, nor could I ſleep all the Night: So that when *Melec* came in the Morning to awaken me, he found me already up

and

and dreſt. It was once in my Head to have aſked this Slave ſome Queſtions, but not knowing what Conſequences might attend it, and dreading, though I knew not why, the Severity of the *Bey*, I held my Tongue. However, while I was eating my Breakfaſt, *Melec* told me that he was to go with us; that we ſhould return at Night, and that he believed I would ſet out for *Cairo* on the Morrow. This pleaſed me very well, for I began now to wiſh myſelf out of theſe unknown Parts, where I was entirely at the Mercy of Strangers, and in a Condition to which no Man in his right Wits would have reduced himſelf.

AT the Cloſe of his Diſcourſe, *Melec* informed me that he had himſelf ſome Curioſities to diſpoſe of, which he had caſually met with in going to a City called *Siouf* with a Meſſage from his Maſter: Theſe, he ſaid, he was content to let me take at my own Price when I ſhould return. A Propoſition which ſuited me very well. As ſoon as it was perfectly light, the *Bey* was ready to depart, attended by a Troop of *Arabian* Cavaliers, conſiſting of ſixty Men well armed. *Morat*, and myſelf, had Horſes provided for us, and coaſting along the Mountains we came by Noon to a Road which ſtruck as it were into the Heart of them. There the *Bey* gave Orders for his Guards to halt, and then proceeding with his Slave *Melec*, he conducted *Morat* and myſelf to a Cave at ſome Diſtance, one of the moſt ſtupendious Works which yet remains of the ancient *Egyptian* Magnificence. It is hewn out of the ſolid Rock, ſupported by Pillars of the ſame Stone, wrought with all imaginable Art and Beauty, and filled with hieroglyphic and other Characters. Here we ſat down in the Cool, and eat a ſhort

Repaſt

Repaſt, after which *Melec* and *Morat* went to give Orders to the Guards, and left the *Bey* alone with me in the Grotto.

As ſoon as they were gone, my Friend ſaid he, if Time would permit I could entertain you with a pleaſant Account of the wonderful Stories that are told us of this Grotto, wherein it is ſuppoſed there are greater Treaſures buried than in the Grand Seignior's Coffers. The moſt intelligent are of Opinion, that ſome where in this Neighbourhood lies that famous Mine of Emeralds ſo much ſpoken of in the *Eaſt*, and ſo fatal to its Owners. But I can aſſure you, that the laſt Story is full as ill grounded as the firſt; for I am well ſatisfied, that the Mine of Emeralds is not here, nay as far as my Information reaches, it is not on this Side the *Nile*, tho' one of my Predeceſſors loſt his Life on a Suppoſition that he was poſſeſſed of it. The Ground of this Story was, his having collected a great quantity of Emeralds, which tho' in other Reſpects he was a wiſe Man, ſhewed him to be extremely deficient in true Policy. The then Baſhaw of *Cairo*, whoſe Name was *Muſtapha*, was avaricious in the higheſt Degree, and on a Suſpicion that he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of immenſe Wealth, he made War upon and deſtroyed the unhappy Prince, yet without gaining the End he ſought, for his Treaſures could never be found, and the Baſhaw himſelf was the Year following ſtrangled at the *Porte*. On this Account I am not a little tender of owning, that I have any of theſe fatal Stones; at the ſame Time I am not averſe to the ſale of them upon reaſonable Terms; becauſe any other Commodity of Value ſuits me better.

HAVING

HAVING ſaid this, he produced a little Casket from under his Robe, and having opened it, ſhewed me a great many of theſe Jewels, ſome of them wonderful perfect, and others larger, but cloudy and full of Specks. We were not long in bargaining, for he asked me at firſt a very moderate Price, and at laſt I agreed for 30 Stones on the part of *Haſſan*, and 3 for myſelf. One of 40, one of 50, and the other for the Price of 70 *Sequins*. Thoſe I bought for *Haſſan* were abſolutely perfect, thoſe on my own Account were large but foul, and I bought them with a View to make Uſe of the Secret I had from M. *Pucci*, which I was ſenſible would render them of much more Value than they were ſold to me. After our Buſineſs was over, the *Bey* ſhewed me another Parcel, conſiſting of 19 large Stones, but far leſs perfect than thoſe I had ſeen before. He ſeemed very deſirous of ſelling me theſe altogether, I told him frankly that I had gone to the Extent of my Commiſſion, and that I had laid out all my own Money alſo. He then ſhewed me 5 Stones tied up in a Bag of a ſtill larger Size, very thick but foul, and of different Colours. If theſe ſaid he were perfect, they would be worth more Money than you have given me for all the reſt, as they are I will ſell them for 500 *Sequins*. This I confeſs tempted me exceedingly, and immediately brought into my Head what I never once thought on before, *viz.* That I had about me a Pearl Necklace which had been my Mothers, and which I had determined never to part from. I remembered that *Iſouf* had told me Pearls bore a very high Price in theſe Parts, and thereupon I took a Reſolution of beſeeching the *Bey* to refer this Negotiation till our Return to his Caſtle,

Caſtle, which at firſt he declined, but afterwards putting up the Stones with thoſe I had bought, he delivered the whole Parcel to me in a Bag, bidding me take Care to let no Body ſuſpect our Buſineſs there to have been any other than to gratify my Curioſity with a Sight of theſe Grottos, for there were ſeveral within our View, and we went afterwards to look upon them.

AFTER a Stay of 3 or 4 Hours, we mounted our Horſes again, and returned to the *Bey*'s Palace juſt as it was dark. It happened that the *Cheik* of an adjacent Village, and a Friend of his came that Afternoon to viſit the *Bey*, and ſtaid for his Return; ſo that our Converſation was put off till the Morning. I retired earlier than uſual on Account of the Strangers, and that I might have Time to ſpeak to *Melec* about the Things he had promiſed to ſell me. When I was come to my Chamber, I put him in mind of his Promiſe, and he aſſured me, that as ſoon as the *Bey* was retired to Reſt, he would come and ſhew me what he had mention'd. He came accordingly, and brought the better half of a broken Urn, with about 180 Medals of Gold, Silver, and large Braſs, I was extremely ſurprized at ſo unexpected a Sight, and the firſt Queſtion I asked was, whether the *Bey* knew any Thing of them? the poor Fellow trembling, affirmed he did not, and began I believe to apprehend that I would betray him; I bid him be of good Courage, and asked him what he valued theſe Curioſities at, he ſaid 10 *Sequins*, I immediately gave him 20, and obſerved to him, that we were alike in Danger if we broke our Faiths. I put the Medals amongſt my Equipage, and gave him the broken Urn to bury in the Place from whence he had taken it, after

which

which he departed, and I being exceedingly fatigued, went to my Reſt.

In the Morning *Melec* waked me by coming into the Room, which he ſeldom did, and I was at firſt extremely ſurprized, ſuppoſing that ſome Accident had happened, I was confirmed in this, when he told me, that the *Bey* deſired to ſpeak with me in an Hour. The Slave's looking perfectly eaſy and compoſed, alarmed me ſtill more, from an Apprehenſion that he had betrayed me, and that this was one of thoſe Artifices of which I had been ſo often forewarned, from my Propenſity to converſe with *Moors* and *Arabs*. I dreſſed myſelf with much Hurry and Confuſion, and addreſſed myſelf to my Prayers with much Diſtraction of Mind; when I had finiſhed them with much ado, it ſhot into my Mind that the *Bey* had ſent for me about the large Emeralds, and thereupon I immediately grew eaſy again, wondering at my former Diſquiet and fully perſuaded that a Man's own Suſpicions excruciate him much more than any real Evils to which he ſtands expoſed, from the ordinary Events in Life. The firſt Thing I did was, to unrip the Lappit of an old Waiſtcoat which I wore over my Shirt, and in which the Necklace was ſewed at full length; it conſiſted of 5 Rows of Pearl with Pears at each End, they were extremely fine, and at the Time they were bought, of a very high Price. I could not help ſhedding Tears at the Sight of it, and began to charge myſelf with the want of filial Tenderneſs, in parting thus with my Mother's Necklace to an Infidel. But when I had recollected myſelf a little, when I conſidered that the Value of all theſe Things was imaginary, and that a Parent if living could not but

approve

approve an Advantage gained by an Exchange of Things uſeleſs in themſelves; I recovered my Tranquility, and taking off the two Pears, reſolved to produce only five Rows of Pearls.

By that Time I had done this, *Melec* came to haſten me, ſo I went directly to the *Bey's* Apartment, carrying the five Emeralds with me, which as ſoon as we were alone I produced. Well my Friend, ſaid *Mahemed*, what is it you have to offer me for theſe Children of the Sea? alluding to the Colour of the Stones. I have anſwered I, ſome of the true Children of the Sea, preſenting him at the ſame time the Necklace; he looked upon it with an Air of Pleaſure and Aſtoniſhment, from whence I gathered, that I ſhould be ſucceſsful in my Negotiation. After looking at them for ſome Time, my Friend, ſaid *Mehemed*, here are about 300 Pearls, if I value them at a *Sequin* a piece they will purchaſe only 3 of thoſe Stones. True my Lord, ſaid I, but you will conſider that you ſet a Value on your own Emeralds and on my Pearls. Very well, replyed *Mehemed* gravely; and are you not a great Gainer by the Value which I have ſet? I then ſhewed him the two Pears, and our Buſineſs being quickly adjuſted, he deſired me to bring the reſt of the Emeralds with me when I came to Dinner, which I accordingly did, and after our Repaſt was over retiring to a Summer-houſe, he put up each of the Stones in Paper, affixed his Seal or Mark, for it is taken off only with Ink, on the Folds of each of them, and wrote within to whom it belonged, when he had ſo done, he put them all into the Bag, and that again into a little Caſe which he alſo ſealed with four Seals, and delivered it to me. He

then

then demanded whether I would return to *Cairo* the next Day, or repoſe a Day longer, I choſe the latter for the Sake of ſome Queſtions which I had to ask *Melec*.

The *Bey* then told me, that all the *Arabs* I brought with me muſt remain with him; but that *Morat* ſhould return with me, and that he would ſend a Perſon in whom he could confide, to ſee us ſafely embarked on the *Nile* with our Baggage, for that he thought it would not be ſafe for us to return by Land. This ſomewhat ſurprized me, for I had no Idea of returning any other Way than that by which I came; but when I had conſidered the Neceſſity of the Thing, and that the Return of theſe *Arabs* with their Camels might be fatal, not only to them, but to me. I very readily acquieſced, and thanked the *Bey* for his Care. When all theſe Things were adjuſted, he told me, that in the Grotto's where we had been before, he had diſcovered ſome ſubterraneous Paſſages, in which he at firſt ſuppoſed ſome Treaſure might be hid; but that upon a ſtricter Scrutiny, he diſcovered they were meer *Catacombs*, and that he had taken out of them ſome embalm'd Birds, certain Idols, and figured Stones, which he promiſed to ſhew me, as he did the next Morning, and afterwards made me a Preſent of them, in return for which I gave him a little ſilver Caſe of Inſtruments which I carried in my Pocket.

In the Evening ſome Strangers arrived, which was the Reaſon that I did not ſee the *Bey* any more that Night, which gave me an Opportunity of finiſhing at leiſure all the Inquiries I had to make from *Melec*. He told me, that about five Years before, as he was going with his Siſter to meet a young Man to whom ſhe was

to

to be married, they were all ſurprized by a Body of barbarous People which border on *Abyſſinia*, and that after living in Servitude with them ſome Months, they ſold him to a *Nubian* Merchant, who brought him into *Egypt*, and having received many Favours from the *Bey*, preſented him and his Siſter, whom he had alſo bought, to *Mehemed*, with whom they had lived ever ſince.

THIS Siſter I underſtood remained in the Women's Apartment conſtantly, and tho' *Melec* did not tell me ſo, yet from various Circumſtances I conjectured, that ſhe was one of the *Bey's* Concubines. In this I was confirmed by the ſmall Deſire the *Abyſſine* expreſſed to return into his own Country, or of obtaining his Liberty. He was perfectly ſatisfied with his preſent Condition, and was only deſirous of having a little Money by him, in Caſe any Accident ſhould happen to his Maſter, a Thing frequent enough among theſe little Princes, who when united are powerful enough to give Law to the Grand Seignior's Governor; but when at Variance with each other, as they generally are become Victims to their own ill-timed Reſentments, and either die in the Field againſt ſome of their Neighbours and Competitors, or are ſtrangled at *Cairo*, on ſome pretended Conſpiracy.

THE next Day being the third of *May*, I ſpent almoſt entirely in the Company of the *Bey*, who ſeemed to open himſelf with unuſual Confidence. He ſaid he looked upon it as a Thing certain, that he ſhould not hear often from *Haſſan*, that he thought his Deſign of retiring out of *Egypt* prudent; but that it required great Caution in the Execution of it, becauſe the *Turks* were equally ſuſpicious and barbarous, and having conceived

ſtrange Notions of his Wealth, would not fail on the ſlighteſt Pretence to rid themſelves of him, in order to acquire it. The Evening I ſpent with *Melec*, getting all Things ready for my Journey, and on the fourth of *May* early in the Morning, having taken Leave of the *Bey*, who covered me with Civilities, *Morat* and I ſet out mounted on two fine Horſes, attended by three Camels, which carried our Proviſions and Baggage, and eſcorted by an *Arab* of Diſtinction, at the Head of twenty Cavaliers.

We reached the *Nile* by two Day's eaſy Journey. The firſt Night we lay in a Village, inhabited for the moſt part by *Copts* or *Egyptian* Chriſtians. I walked about in the Evening attended every where by the *Arab Chief*, who treated me with a great Politeneſs, but ſeemed to take to himſelf as much or more State than the *Bey*; I underſtood afterwards that he was his elder Brother's Son. His Name was *Hamet*, his Age about 23, he was an excellent Horſeman even in Reſpect to the *Arabs*, who are all of them very expert in this Art. *Hamet* had more of the *Arabian* Haughtineſs by far than his Uncle; but at the ſame Time he made Uſe of a much more ceremonious Courteſy, expreſſed himſelf with all the Pomp of *Eaſtern* Compliment; ſo that I had no ſmall Trouble in conforming to all the Niceties which this illuſtrious Perſon expected.

The next Evening we came to *Ackmin*; this is far from being a conſiderable Place at preſent, but in the Neighbourhood of it lye the Ruins of a very conſiderable City, among which I walked for a couple of Hours, obſerving with Regret the outragious Havock which had been notoriouſly made of many Monuments of

of ancient Magnificence. There were however ſome Rows of Columns, which had not only reſiſted the Injuries of Time, but thoſe alſo of the barbarous Lords of *Egypt*, who have ſo induſtriouſly demoliſhed what they wanted Genius to erect. Some Apartments alſo were in a manner entire, their Walls being every where embeliſhed either with Sculptures or Paintings, the latter amazingly freſh; ſo that the Colours ſeem as if they were freſh laid on. I ſhould have been more exact in examining theſe venerable Remains of Antiquity, if the *Emir Hamet* had not told me, that he was ſtreightened in Time, and that he expected to meet that Evening the Patron of the Veſſel in which we were to ſail to *Cairo*.

I was therefore obliged to return immediately, and as he ſaid, we found when we came back the Perſon he expected, and his Veſſel. The Maſter behaved very reſpectfully to the *Emir*, and aſſured him, that he would uſe the utmoſt Care and Expedition in conveying us to *Cairo*. The next Morning all our Baggage was put on Board the Veſſel, and when we came to take our Leave of the *Emir*, he appointed two of his Cavaliers to attend us. Then turning to *Morat* he embraced him, and wiſh'd him a good Voyage, deſiring him to go with his *Arabians* immediately on Board the Veſſel. In the mean Time he took me aſide, and when we had walked a little Way together, he drew a Letter out of his Boſom, and having firſt touched his Forehead therewith, and afterwards kiſſed it, he delivered it to me, and I opened it after the like Ceremony.

It was ſealed, or rather ſubſcribed by the *Bey*, and contained an Order to deliver immediately to the *Emir*

Hamet the Packet with four Seals. I was ſo ſurprized I knew not what to ſay. The *Emir* perceived it, and endeavoured to comfort me, My Friend, ſaid he, be not afflicted, you will ſuffer no Injury, either from me or my Uncle, we beſt know what is fit to be done in our Affairs and yours. I ſaw Reſiſtance was impracticable; and therefore I gave him the Packet of Jewels, and then with a heavy Heart, in Spight of all his Promiſes and Aſſurances, I went on Board the Veſſel, where I found *Morat* and the two *Arabs* with four other Perſons belonging to the Bark, but the Patron was gone aſhore to receive the laſt Inſtructions of the *Emir*.

I look'd upon myſelf to be now no longer in a State of Freedom, I conſidered theſe *Arabs* as Guards, I fancied that *Morat* looked exceedingly melancholy, and on the whole, I felt greater Pain and Diſquiet than I had ever known in my Life. I began to revolve in my Mind, that vaſt variety of Events, which tho' a young Man I had ſeen; I blamed my fond Credulity which had induced me to run ſuch real Hazards on chimerical Proſpects. I ſaw all Things now in new Lights, I wondered how I ſo eaſily quitted my own Country, I ſtood amazed at my having ſhunned the Converſe of *Engliſh* Merchants; I accuſed myſelf of a thouſand Follies, of which till now I had never thought myſelf guilty, and I made innumerable Vows of Amendment, and of returning to a ſettled Courſe of Life, in Caſe Providence ſhould pleaſe to deliver me from this Gulph of Affliction. This Thought ſuddenly raiſed me, I began to conceive the State I was in, a kind of Warning from Heaven to quit this rambling ſort of Life, and to

return

return to the Performance of thoſe Duties incumbent upon me, as a reaſonable Creature and a Chriſtian; with this Hope I comforted myſelf, and recollecting my Spirits as well as I could, I began to enquire of *Morat* how he did, and how long he thought it would be before we ſhould reach *Cairo*, he ſaid he could not tell, but that he believed it would not be many Days, and that the Voyage would be very pleaſant; he looked too as if he had recovered his former Chearfulneſs, and perhaps he had never loſt it, except in my Imagination. The Patron of the Veſſel was extremely courteous, as well as very careful of us; we lodged every Night on Shore, but as I apprehended, that the *Arabs* and the Maſter of the Veſſel had a ſtrict Eye over us, I walked very little abroad, which hindered me from viewing abundance of Curioſities, that otherwiſe in the Courſe of this Voyage, I might have ſeen, I took Notice, however, the ſecond Day of our Voyage, of a Marble Column on our Right Hand, exactly like that of *Pompey*, near *Alexandria*, though I think not quite ſo high.

WHEN our *Arabians* became a little acquainted with us, they entertained us with the uſual Topic's, *viz.* Romantic Relations of the Adventures of antient Heroes, and wonderful Hiſtories of Treaſures buried in Mountains, Caſtles erected by Art Magic, and *Taliſmans* capable of performing more ſtupendous Miracles than ever entered into any Legend. They delivered all they ſaid with a Gravity, which ſhewed that they believed themſelves all that they deſired others to credit, and I who had profited much by *Haſſan*'s Admonition, ſuffer'd theſe Stories to amuſe my Melancholy, and to divert

the Paſſage, which exceedingly delighted the *Arabs*, who love to be liſtened too, and treated with Confidence, which notwithſtanding the Stories that are told of them, I think they very rarely abuſe.

I AM the rather inclined to this Opinion, becauſe that I know their *Emirs* and *Princes* chaſtiſe with the utmoſt Severity, ſuch as injure any who are going to or coming from them, and have thereby put themſelves upon their Faith. It is true, that they are extremely poor, which makes them thieviſh; but if you give them a Trifle, and treat them kindly, and like Friends, they will not wrong you; but on the contrary, ſerve you with great Fidelity, and exert themſelves to the utmoſt in your Defence. When we were fallen down the *Nile* within a Days Sail or leſs of *Caira*, we landed at a Village called *Safi*, where we hired four Camels, and having put the Baggage upon one, the *Arab* who owned the Camels, *Morat* and myſelf, on the other two ſet out by Land for *Caira*, by the Direction of the *Arabs* whom the *Emir* had left with us; and we entered on the ſame Side of the City, from whence we ſet out for *Suez*.

IT is impoſſible to expreſs the Joy which Mr. *Perez* and *Antonio* teſtified on my Arrival. They had ſent to *Suez*, and were informed, that my Curioſity had tempted me to make an Excurſion into the upper *Egypt*, where they took it for certain, that ſome Misfortune had befallen me. I had not been at Home long before *Haſſan* ſent me a Meſſage, deſiring that I would repoſe myſelf for a Day or two before I viſited him. This was to me quite unintelligible; however I was conſtrained to be ſilent, as well as to bear with Patience the great Loſs that I had ſuſtained.

DURING

DURING this Space, Mr. *Perez* diverted me with the Recital of what had paſſed in my Abſence, and alſo preſented me with a long Letter from Dr. *Salviati*, in which among other Things there was a Query as to the Uſes that might be made in Chemiſtry of the Practice at *Cairo* of hatching Eggs in Ovens. Having conſidered this attentively, I began to apprehend, that very poſſibly the Experiments I made of Mr. *Pucci's* Secret would have ſucceeded better if ſuch Ovens as theſe had been uſed. Upon this, I began to enquire very particularly into this Method of hatching Chickens, as alſo whether it was practicable to erect them in a private Houſe, which I was told it was not. Then I deſired to be informed if a Pot well luted might be ſuffer'd to ſtand in theſe Ovens for a certain Time, without Danger of its being opened, and being ſatisfied on this Head, I took two very foul Emeralds, and that which had been partly cleanſed before, and having properly ſecured them, ſent them to be placed in the Oven for nine Days.

THE Day after I went to wait on my Patron *Haſſan* according to his Appointment, he received me with all the Marks of Friendſhip poſſible, and before I had been with him twenty Minutes, produced to me the *Bey's* Packet, with the Seals untouched. He told me at the ſame Time, that the Baſhaw having ſent a *Chiaux* to *Mehemed Bey* while I was at his Palace, that Lord was apprehenſive, that upon ſome Intelligence given, I might be ſeized in my Return to *Cairo*, which would have been fatal to them all; he therefore diſpatch'd his Nephew the *Emir*, with an Anſwer to the Baſhaw's Demands, and knowing that he would not be ſuſpec-

ted or ſearched, gave him Directions to take a certain Packet from me, and deliver it when Opportunity ſerv'd to *Haſſan*.

We immediately broke open the Seals, took out the Bag, and divided the Emeralds according to the written Directions of the *Bey*. *Haſſan* was not a little ſurprized at the Choice I had made of imperfect Stones, which as he rightly obſerved, were from their Size above the Purchaſe of unskilful Judges, and from their Quality unfit for thoſe who had Skill. I admitted what he ſaid to be true, and could defend myſelf only by ſaying, that my Money would hold out no farther. My Patron obſerved, that he had forbid *Morat* to enter his Houſe, and had ſent to hinder my viſiting him till ſuch Time as the *Emir* was returned, leſt on our Meeting ſuch Civilities might paſs as might poſſibly beget Suſpicion, in which I confeſs he acted very reaſonably. Two Days afterwards he ſet out for *Roſetta*, from whence in a few Weeks he tranſported himſelf and his Family to *Algiers*, having before diſpoſed of his Houſe and Gardens to the *Turkiſh Aga*, who on that Account winked at his Departure, and ſent no Advices to the Baſhaw till his Friend was out of Danger.

At the End of the appointed Time I ſent for my Pot from the Oven, and found, upon Inſpection, that a thin Stone was crack'd quite thorough; another thicker one was much mended in its Colour; but as for the large Stone I bought of the Jew at *Alexandria*, and had made an unſucceſsful Attempt to rectify before, it was as fine, as clear, and as perfect as I could wiſh. Having conſidered this Matter attentively, and compared all the Circumſtances

cumſtances together, which from Experience I knew of this Matter, I fell upon a new Method, which I executed as well as projected, and by the Means of three Lamps of different Wicks which I kept continually burning, under three Veſſels of Water, the firſt of which ſupply'd the ſecond, and the ſecond the third, with boiling Water, continually, the firſt only being fill'd up as Occaſion required with hot Water, I effected the whole Proceſs to my great Satisfaction, and, by adjuſting the Time to the Thickneſs of the Stones, came by degrees to an unhoped for Certainty, which ſoon furniſhed me with Emeralds ſuperior to moſt that had been ſeen in *Europe*.

As theſe Things took up much Time, and required almoſt a continual Attendance, I had all the Leiſure in the World to methodize and review my Papers, to perfect my Obſervations, to raiſe new Heads of Enquiry, and to ſatisfy myſelf as to many Things about which our beſt Authors contradict each other, or elſe paſs over in Silence, becauſe they wanted either the Will or the Opportunity of being thoroughly informed about them. That I might with greater Conveniency thus employ my Time, I mentioned to Mr. *Perez* the Papers relating to *Ethiopia*, which I had brought from *Suez*, and he preſſing earneſtly to ſee 'em, I promiſed to gratify his Curioſity as ſoon as I could tranſcribe and digeſt 'em, which afforded me a fair Excuſe for being much in my own Apartment, where, at the ſame Time, I carried on this, and Buſineſs of greater Importance.

But as Diverſity of Studies relieve each other, ſo I thought proper to join to this Hiſtorical Treatiſe the collecting ſuch Secrets and Receipts as I had received, either from my Friends, or had tranſcribed from Books

ſince

ſince my Arrival in *Egypt*. I communicated alſo this Deſign to Mr. *Perez*, and received his kind Aſſiſtance therein, he having been no leſs aſſiduous than I in the Search of ſuch Curioſities; for Curioſities they might properly be called, ſince they ſerved rather to amuſe, than to inſtruct, and were rather ingenious than uſeful. To theſe I added his and my own Obſervations, as to their Succeſs, want of Succeſs, their Reaſonableneſs, or Improbability; the Cauſes of their failing, the moſt proper Remedies for thoſe Cauſes, and whatever elſe could contribute to make a Collection of this Sort ſo far beneficial as to prevent an unneceſſary Waſte of Time in fruitleſs Experiments.

When theſe were finiſhed, I drew up a ſuccinct Deſcription of *Egypt*, which I thought might be beſt done upon the Spot, where all that was ſaid might fall under the Eye of competent and impartial Judges, where Errors might be eaſily rectified, Deficiencies properly ſupply'd, and all Grounds of Doubtfulneſs or Suſpicion removed. This too, by a ſteady Application, was quickly perfected, reviſed, corrected, and put into its laſt Dreſs. It happened that the Diſcourſe on the *Ethiopian* Empire, and the Deſcription of *Egypt*, were in my Hands when we left *Cairo*; ſo that theſe I have preſerved.

But as to the Collection of Receipts, and five ſmall Treatiſes on the *Oriental Philoſophy*, *Alchymy*, the *Chriſtian Religion*, ſo far as its *Truth* is acknowledg'd by *Mohammedans*; the *Veracity* of *Oriental Hiſtorians*, and the true Principles of the *Religion* of the *Indians*, I had delivered them to Mr. *Perez*, who deſired to tranſcribe them, by which Means they were loſt to me. The *Hiſtorical*

Pieces,

Pieces, as they have an intimate Relation to theſe Memoirs, follow here as in their proper Place.

A RELATION *of the* PRESENT STATE *of* ETHIOPIA. By a *French* Surgeon.

IT was not Choice, flowing from an avaricious Deſire of poſſeſſing Part of thoſe immenſe Riches which the *Portugueſe* every where give out to abound in *Ethiopia*, that drew me thither. I had the Misfortune to be taken by a Crew of Pirates in the *Weſt-Indies*, Part of whom, after having for ſeven Years committed incredible Ravages in thoſe Parts, ſailed for the *Red-Sea*, at the Perſuaſion of a Perſon, who had been Servant to the Governor of *Barbadoes*, and had heard it frequently ſaid at his Maſter's Table, that Privateers in thoſe Seas might eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of immenſe Wealth, an Argument of all others moſt prevalent with this kind of People.

THEY were very lucky on their firſt coming on the Coaſts of *Arabia*, but they had not taken many Prizes before they were alarmed with a Story of an *Arabian* King's fitting out a great Fleet, on purpoſe to take them. This induced the Captain of our Ship, for there were three in all, to ſtand over to the *Ethiopian* Shore, where he put into the Port of *Arkiko*, and ſent me, with three Men in the Boat, to deſire Leave of the Governor to trade with the People.

WE were no ſooner on ſhore than we were ſent to Priſon, and the Captain, the next Day, fairly ſailed away

away without us, a Thing I did not at that Time much regret, being heartily weary of living among ſuch a wicked Race of People. I regretted it the leſs, becauſe I was immediately ſet at Liberty, and left to do with myſelf what I thought fit. The three Men who came on Shore with me engaged themſelves in the *Turkiſh* Service as Mariners, and I ſuffered myſelf to be perſuaded by ſome *Jewiſh* Merchants to go with them into *Ethiopia*, on a Promiſe that they would carry me the next Year into *Egypt*, with a Caravan; in which they deceived me, and not contented therewith, treated me very harſhly, forcing me to exerciſe my Profeſſion as a Surgeon, and taking to themſelves whatever Preſents the People ſent.

AFTER this Manner they dragg'd me quite croſs the Empire of *Ethiopia*, from the *Red-Sea* to the Sea of *Dambea*, which is no other than a very great Lake, through which the *Nile* paſſes, and lies in the Weſt Part of *Ethiopia*. Here I got releaſed, and was kindly entertained by many of the People who had been formerly converted by the *Portugueſe* Fathers, and do ſtill retain a great Veneration for them, and on their Account for all Catholicks. I then traverſed this great Lake, and turning next to the South, entered the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where in two Days Journey I paſſed from the River *Nile*, where it was large and rapid, and had run at leaſt three hundred Miles, to its Source, the River forming the Figure of an *Italick O*, the Top of which is open, and repreſents the near Approach of the winding Body of the River to its Fountains after ſo long a Courſe, whereby the Kingdom of *Gojam* is made a perfect Peninſula,

the

the Iſthmus contained between the two Branches of the *Nile* being not above 20 Miles broad.

I RESIDED near 20 Years at *Axazo*, the Capital of this Kingdom, 'till being ſeized with a ſtrong Paſſion of returning into *Europe*, I travelled firſt due Eaſt, to the famous Fortreſs of *Ambaſel*, and then directly North to *Axuma*, which is generally eſteemed the Capital of *Ethiopia*, from whence, after three Years Stay, I found Means to get to *Suez*, where I wrote this Account, having traverſed the greateſt Part of that Country, which makes ſuch a Noiſe in *Europe*, and which is really the moſt different in the World, from what it hath been repreſented.

THIS Country is by ſome call'd the *Higher Ethiopia*, but I think more commonly *Abyſſinia*, which Word is derived from the Name given to their own Country in their own Language, by the Inhabitants of this Empire, *viz. Habeſh*; but whence that is derived, or what it ſignifies, I know not; and perhaps ſome who affect to deal in Etymologies, know as little as I. As to the Extent of this Empire, it was formerly much greater than it now is, and at preſent its Bounds are not eaſily ſettled; however, I think that in length, from South to North, it may be near five hundred Miles in Extent; and from the *Red-Sea* to the *Nile*, it may be about two hundred. As it lies from 8 to 17 Degrees of North Latitude, it is plainly in the Torrid Zone, which to me is a Demonſtration that the Moderns are not much more exact than the Antients in their Sentiments as to the Effects of the Nearneſs or Diſtance of the Sun, ſince it is certain that *Ethiopia* is not ſo hot as *Spain*, but of ſuch a Temperature as in the warmeſt Provinces of the Kingdom I men-

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tion the People feel in Spring; on the Coaſt, indeed, it is exceſſive hot in the Summer Months, which are the ſame as with us in *Europe*; but in the inland Parts Summer and Winter are reverſed, that is to ſay, the Winter commences in the Middle of *June*, and laſts to the Middle of *September*; and the Summer commences in *December* and ends in *March*. I am well informed, that on the other Side of the *Red-Sea*, the Tables are turned again, the Winter on the Coaſt laſts from *June* to *September*; and in the inland Parts of *Arabia*, from *November* to *February*.

THE rainy Seaſons are indeed equally terrible and troubleſome; for every Day, to a Stranger, appears the laſt in which this World is to ſubſiſt, and yet from three o'Clock in the Afternoon, to Seven, includes the whole of this amazing Scene; by that Time all is over, and the next Morning breaks with a Serenity the moſt pleaſing that can be imagined; about Noon the Clouds gather, and at Three Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, ſpread a Terror and Confuſion not to be deſcribed. I have often thought from this, and from a hundred other Circumſtances, that *Abyſſinia* might be ſtiled the Land of Contradictions. At firſt Sight this Expreſſion will appear only a Flight of Thought, but it is in Truth a very weighty Obſervation, ſince it reconciles at once the oppoſite Accounts we have from different Authors.

AS to the Fertility of this Country, who would not be led to admire it when he is told that there are always two, and ſometimes three Harveſts, and yet there is no Place on the Globe the Inhabitants of which are ſo often plagued with Famine. This ariſes from various Cauſes. Firſt, there are but here and there Spots of arable Land,

and

and theſe are not very fertile. Secondly, the Locuſts often come and deſtroy every green Thing with a Fury ſcarce to be conceived. Thirdly, the Emperor's Soldiers live every where at free Quarters, and conſequently ſpread Want and Penury wherever they come. Fourthly, the Lightnings frequently deſtroy their Stores; and, laſtly, the *Gallas*, and other barbarous People, harraſs the Frontier Provinces continually.

THE Fruits of this Country are very excellent, and might be had in great Plenty if their Conſtitution encouraged the People to cultivate them; which it is ſo far from doing, that one can ſcarce conceive how they are able at all to ſubſiſt themſelves and their Families. As to all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers that are to be found in the *Indies*, they are found here; and beſides, there are alſo ſome Vulneraries which I believe are peculiar to this Soil. It would require much Time, and more Knowledge than I am Maſter of, to deſcribe all the Curioſities in this Country; which I am the leſs capable of doing, becauſe I had not any Conveniency of making *Memorandums* on the Spot; ſo that I write entirely from Memory, with this Caution, however, that I inſert nothing but what I certainly remember. In the Number of theſe Things I reckon theſe three. Firſt, the Grain call'd *Teff*, the great Bread Corn of this Country, very nutritive and pleaſant, and yet ten Grains of it are not larger, taken together, than a Grain of Millet. The *Hanſat* Tree, ſomewhat like a *Palmetto*, its Rind ſmooth, its Leaves beautifully green, and very thick. This Tree produces nothing, and yet is the moſt uſeful and deſirable in the Country. Its Leaves, when dry, rub into a pleaſant wholeſome Meal; the Tree itſelf, cut down,

down, ſliced into convenient Pieces, and boiled in Milk, taſtes exactly like a Millet Pudding; and from its Root there ſtarts out numberleſs young Sprigs, which quickly grow to a conſiderable Size. The third Curioſity is the Herb *Azazo*, the moſt noble Alexipharmic in the Univerſe; the very Smell of it is ſaid to benumn the moſt dangerous Sort of Vipers. A little of the Powder taken inwardly, never fails to cure their Bites; and it is certain that thoſe who have lately taken it paſs boldly through Places infeſted by Serpents, without Fear of being bitten, the Effluvia from their Bodies making thoſe Creatures ſick. Oranges, Lemons, Figs and Sugar-Canes, are found in various Provinces of *Abyſſinia*.

GOLD, I believe there is none in the whole Empire, notwithſtanding what ſo many have boldly aſſerted; what they have comes to them from the Weſt; but as for Iron and Lead, they have both in Plenty. On the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea* they have a Sort of *Sal gemma*, or Rock Salt, which they cut out into Pieces like Bricks, and theſe are the current Money, or rather Meaſure of Exchange throughout the Empire, but with great Variation in their Value, for on the Sea Coaſt ſixty of them are equal to a Sequin, whereas in other Parts a Sequin will fetch but five, nay, but three. Mountains are very frequent, and in ſome Places there are Rocks ſhoot up like Pillars, which ſerve for Fortreſſes, and are impregnable in their Nature; theſe are ſtiled *Amba's*. There are alſo Chains of Mountains running this Way and that, affording very narrow Paſſages from one Province to another, and lying in ſome Places ſo as to oblige the Travellers to paſs over them, which cannot be performed but with great Trouble and Danger. Beſides the *Nile*,

of

of which I ſhall ſpeak afterwards, there are many very conſiderable Rivers in *Abyſſinia*, ſome of which as the *Maleg* fall into the *Nile*. Others, as the *Lebea*, after a long Courſe, roll into the Sea. And a third Sort again, as the *Habohax*, little inferior to the *Nile*, after watering for many hundred Miles a barren Country, roll at laſt into more barren Sands, and are there drunk up and loſt.

THE Animals in *Ethiopia* are of all Sorts, as well ſuch as are found in *Europe* as in *Aſia* and *Africk*, but they have eſpecially Plenty of three Kinds. Firſt, of excellent Horſes. Secondly, of beautiful and ſerviceable Mules. Thirdly, a prodigious Quantity of black Cattle, in which the chief Riches of the People conſiſt. As to wild Beaſts, there are too many of them; for I think there is ſcarce any Species of which this Country hath not its Share. Elephants there are in vaſt Numbers, ſo that one ſometimes meets a hundred of them in a Herd on the Road; yet have they no Notion of taming them, or of making any other Uſe of them than that of ſelling their Teeth. They have likewiſe Lions of various Kinds, ſome very ſtrong and high mettled, not leſs than nine, though ſome ſay twelve, Feet in Length: They are very terrible to the Sight; nor is it to be conceived with what Fright all Animals fly at the firſt hearing of their Roar. There is likewiſe in this Country the *Giraff*, an Animal capable of ſtriking with Wonder the moſt incurious Spectator. It moſt of all reſembles a Camel in its Form, but vaſtly exceeds it in Size, ſince it is bigger than an Elephant, but its Limbs are very ſlender, and it makes a very odd Figure.

THE Birds of *Ethiopia* are very numerous; and beſides thoſe common to *Europe*, and the *Indies*, there are many peculiar to this Country, which I think needleſs to deſcribe; I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that their Ducks are larger, fatter, and better taſted than thoſe in *Europe*; their Partridges as high taſted as ours, and of the Size of Capons. River Fiſh they have, but not in very great abundance; neither have I ſeen any that merit a particular Deſcription. I come now to ſpeak of the People.

THE Inhabitants of *Abyſſinia* are compoſed of Chriſtians, Jews, and Mohammedans; of theſe I think the two laſt make a Third. The *Abyſſines* themſelves are *Chriſtians*; the Men and Women are generally well made, middle-ſiz'd People, of a beautiful Tawney, with long curled Hair, of which they are very careful. They are without all queſtion, in their own Natures, the moſt harmleſs, docile People in the World, pious to Exceſs, and charitable to a Fault, whatever our Miſſionaries may think fit to ſay. As to their Religion, it is indeed a very odd Mixture, the *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Mohammedans*, *Chriſtians*, all circumciſe, either from a Principle of Religion, or to avoid Reproach. It is certain, that before the *Abyſſines* were converted to Chriſtianity, they were *Jews*; and it is as certain that they ſtill retain a Mixture of *Judaiſm* in their Religious Cuſtoms. As to their heretical Notions, they are chiefly ſuch as flow from the *Eutychian* Hereſy. Our Miſſionaries magnify them exceſſively, and yet they are more ſolicitous to introduce Submiſſion to the *Papal See*, than to ſet them right in any other Point; and yet a Man of any ordinary Underſtanding cannot fail, on a ſhort Acquaintance with theſe People,

People, to diſcover that this is the laſt Point to be touched upon, as Experience hath ſhewn; that continually inſiſting upon it, hitherto hath kept the Catholick Religion out of *Ethiopia*, and has even made it odious there, inſomuch that the Bulk of the People would rather embrace *Mohammediſm*.

THE *Abyſſines* worſhip God with great Devotion; and there are amongſt them ſuch a Multitude of Churches, that one is always within Sight of another; and there are frequently ſeveral within Sight of each other. The Clergy are meek innocent People; and all the Monks labour with their Hands for their Subſiſtance. They faſt very rigorouſly, taſting neither Meat nor Drink 'till Evening; and they give to thoſe that aſk them whatever they aſk; and therefore it is no Wonder that *Ethiopia* is over burden'd with Beggars. In Marriage only their Morals are irregular, inaſmuch as they retain the *Jewiſh* Cuſtom of divorcing upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions, the Man and Woman marrying again where they pleaſe. On this Head it is very remarkable, that a Huſband frequently pardons Adultery, but if his Wife ſcolds he divorces her without Mercy. The Miſſionaries, while they were in this Country, took a great deal of Pains to rectify this Abuſe; and it muſt be acknowledg'd, to the Honour of the *Portugueſe* Fathers, that as many of them died Martyrs, and as all of them lived Confeſſors, ſo they maintain'd an Apoſtolick Purity in their Conduct, and have, ſince their Deaths, been reverenced as Saints, notwithſtanding the Averſion the People have for the Catholick Religion, founded ſolely on the Apprehenſions they have of the Pope's Supremacy, which they call a bare-faced

Uſurpation, inconſiſtent with their eccleſiaſtical and civil Rights.

As to the Government of *Ethiopia*, it is as every Thing in this Country is, full of Contradictions. The Emperor ſtiles himſelf *King of Kings*, boaſts ſometimes of numberleſs Provinces under his Subjection, aſſerts his ſole Property in the Soil of *Abyſſinia*, which is acknowledged by his Subjects, who are all Tenants at Will, and are frequently diſpoſſeſſed. As there is no Money in his Dominions, he takes his Revenue in Kind, the tenth Cow every third Year, the tenth Piece of Cloth from every Weaver, and ſo in other Things. Yet this Monarch is very far from being abſolute, for the great Men frequently preſcribe Laws to him, and the Loyalty of his Subjects hangs very looſe about them; ſo that tho' they acknowledge their Emperor for a deſpotic Prince, yet it is with this Salvo, that when he does not pleaſe them, he ſhall be no longer their Emperor. After this Account, I need ſcarce add that the People are very poor and miſerable, ſince it is plain a Civil War makes all People ſo; and ten Years is a long Truce in *Ethiopia*, where in Time of Peace the Nation are moſt abject Slaves. When the Emperor beſtows a Government, a Herald proclaims at the Door of the Tent; *His Imperial Majeſty hath been pleaſed to make ſuch a one his Slave, Ruler over ſuch a Province.* And he does the ſame Thing when he takes a Lady to his Wife. The Phraſe then is; *His Majeſty hath made ſuch a one his Slave Empreſs.* In the *Abyſſinian* Language a King is call'd *Negus*. Their Monarch they ſtile *Negus Negaſta*, which is as much as to ſay, *King of Kings*. Formerly the *Abyſſinian* Monarchs made uſe of two Miniſters to tranſact all publick Affairs, being

being themſelves ſcarce ever ſeen by their Subjects. Theſe Miniſters were ſtiled *Betudets*, and were in fact *Mayors* of the *Palace*, or in other Words, *Kings*, while the Emperor, with all his Titles, was but a Cypher; but within theſe hundred Years the Emperors have condeſcended to be Men, and, in conſequence thereof, have reſumed their Authority. The Prime Miniſter, when there is one, is ſtiled *Raz*, and his Office is much the ſame with that of the Vizir *Azem* at the *Porte*. I have read in ſome *Portugueſe* Voyages, that the *Ethiopian* Monarchs live very meanly. This I can diſprove, tho' I never ſaw the Emperor, becauſe his chief Lords are very richly dreſſed in Velvet Jackets, and Surtouts of Brocade: But I ſhall readily agree that they are the only well-cloath'd People in the Empire. The Governor of a Province is ſtiled *Xumo*, or rather *Chumo*, for ſo they pronounce it. And they have abundance of other Officers in the Nature of Intendants and Lieutenants for the King.

THERE are abundance of Princes dependent on the *Abyſſinian* Empire, who, as far as outward Marks of Reſpect will go, confeſs this Dependence, and perhaps ſend conſiderable Preſents; but as for Obedience, that's not to be expected, unleſs ſome *Abyſſinian* Monarch ſhould ariſe of an enterprizing, and at the ſame time of a regular Genius, who after new modelling his own Empire, ſhould turn his Arms upon his Neighbours; for in this Caſe he would undoubtedly reſtore the ancient Glory of the *Abyſſinian* Name, ſince theſe People are naturally good Soldiers, brave, obedient, patient of Fatigue, and very capable of Diſcipline, if they had Officers who knew how to inſtruct them; their Horſe are

naturally very good, and might be managed ſo as to become the very beſt in the World, as they have the Speed of the *Arabian* Courſers, and the Strength and Fierceneſs of our Horſes in *Europe*. As it is the firſt Shock determines a Battle, and tho' perſonally the *Abyſſines* have as much Valour as any People in the World, yet in pitched Battles they are eaſily defeated; for if their General be kill'd, if Artillery be brought to play upon them, if they are attack'd in Flank, a Pannick preſently takes them, and they run all away; nor is it poſſible to bring them together again by Promiſes or Threats. The Emperor moves about with a flying Army, under the Name of Guards, and ſeldom, if ever, reſides any where but in a Camp, which is the Reaſon that there are no great Towns, much leſs Cities, in *Ethiopia*, but Villages are thick; in ſome Places they almoſt touch each other; ſo that the whole Country is a ſtraggling Hamlet.

THEIR Houſes are no better than Cabbins, and their Furniture a low Table, a few Mats, and a Hide to ſleep on. As for Plates and Diſhes, none but Perſons of Diſtinction have any, and they are a kind of black earthen Ware. The ordinary People make a Sort of broad thin Cakes, which they bake in ſuch a Manner as to leave them very tough; theſe they lay upon the Table, clap their Meat upon them, alſo uſe them to wipe their Fingers, after which their Slaves, or their Women, eat them; and in every other Reſpect they are alike nice, that is, not at all ſo. The grand Dainty in *Abyſſinia* is raw Beef, of which they lay a whole Quarter upon the Table hot, as it is cut from the Creature, with a Bladder or earthen Cup full of the Gall; this they mix with Pepper and Salt, and dipping the Fleſh into it, eat it

with

with all the Greedineſs of *Tartars*. They likewiſe make a kind of Muſtard by mixing with Salt and Pepper the Chile which they find in the Stomach of the Beaſt when it is kill'd; and this they properly enough ſtile a Rarity, becauſe a Quantity of Pepper, ſufficient to make it, is ſeldom to be had. Though it may be concluded from this Account, that the *Abyſſines* live but indifferently, yet it muſt not be imagined that Strangers are in Danger of wanting amongſt them; on the contrary, they are better provided for here than perhaps in any other Country in the World, as well in Right of the Laws, as from the charitable Diſpoſition of the People. As ſoon as a Traveller comes to any Village, he looks about for the beſt and moſt convenient Hut or Houſe therein, into which he inſtantly enters, and is there as much at his Eaſe as if it were his Brother's. The Maſter preſently ſends to his Neighbours to inform them that he has a Gueſt, whereupon they bring him whatever may contribute to the Stranger's Refreſhment, and are ſure to ſatisfy all his Demands, becauſe, if he ſhould complain, the Governor of the Province would mulct them in twice as much: However, there is rarely any Inſtance of Complaints of this Sort, the *Abyſſines* having a natural Generoſity, eſpecially towards Paſſengers.

I HAVE ſaid that this is a Country of Contradictions, and ſo it is in the Character of its Inhabitants. They are naturally honeſt, beneficent, and inclined to live peaceably, yet are they involved in continual Wars, either againſt their Neighbours, or amongſt themſelves; Treaſon and Rebellion being as natural to that Country as Rain or Sun-ſhine, and almoſt as frequent. For this, two Reaſons may be aſſigned. Firſt, the Corruption

of their Grandees, which is as exceſſive as in *Europe*; all the Grandees being quite another Race of People, void of that Probity, Humanity, and peaceable Diſpoſition viſible in the reſt of the Nation. To be ſure it is not the Air of the Court, or their ſeeing the Emperor daily, that ſo ſtrangely changes theſe People, I believe rather it is the Nature of the Life they lead; for being as they are called from all Attention to their private Affairs, in order to take Care of thoſe of the Publick, they ſet no Bounds either to their Deſires, or to their Expences, at the ſame Time that they expect the Publick ſhould pay for all. Their Hopes and Fears alſo being much ſtronger, and more powerful than thoſe of meaner Men. They engage in Frauds, Conſpiracies, or Rebellions, to gratify theſe, or to ſecure themſelves from thoſe. Hence the Corruption of the Great is here as well as elſewhere, the prime Cauſe of Diſorder in the State. But Secondly, theſe Grandees, by the Conſtitution of the *Abyſſinian* Monarchy are poſſeſſed of too great an Authority, and alſo of too great an Influence over thoſe they govern. Hence it comes to paſs, that a diſcontented Governor hath it frequently in his Power to engage the People in Support of his private Intereſts, by ſpecious Pretences of Zeal for the *Publick Service*. The Clergy alſo, who are about the Court, looſe that Sanctity of Heart, and Purity of Manners, which is the Ornament of their Order, and acquiring in their ſtead a ſpiritual Pride, and a boundleſs Luſt of Power. They uſe their Characters, becauſe ſacred, to cover thoſe Crimes which are too black for publick View; whence it happens, that the *Abuna* or Patriarch of *Ethiopia* is often at the Head of a Conſpiracy, and has

has ſometimes drawn together 50 or 60,000 *Monks* to abet his perſonal Quarrel, under Colour of ſupporting the *Abyſſinian* Religion. Thus between the Prieſts, who name every Scuffle for their private Views a Contention *pro Aris*, and the Governors, who when they are in Danger of being removed, fright the People into a Rebellion *pro Focis*, the honeſteſt Folks in the World yearly cut one anothers Throats for the Gratification of thoſe who deſerve to have their own cut according to Law.

I have been led to theſe Obſervations from the Remembrance of one and twenty Rebellions in fifteen Years, not one of which was occaſioned by any ill Conduct of their Princes, but meerly through the Villainy of the Grandees, and the Ignorance of the common People. This Account explains a Maxim in the *Abyſſinian* Polity, which can be explained no other Way, I mean that ſcrupulous Obſtinacy with which they perſiſt in ſhutting all Strangers out of the Empire. The Grandees know from Reaſon, and from Experience of former Times, when the *Portugueſe* had footing in this Country, that the *Abyſſinian* Emperors would emancipate themſelves from that Bondage in which they hold them, if they could have the Aſſiſtance of any Foreign Prince, only ſo far as to ſecure their Perſons, which by Reaſon of the Artifices of their great Officers and their Clergy, are never in Safety while guarded by their own Subjects. This Maxim, either by falſe colouring, the great ones deceive their Sovereigns into a good Opinion of, or elſe they adhere to it in ſpight of his Commands, which is eaſily done in a Country where they have made it the firſt Article of their political Creed with the People, in Virtue of that inveterate Deſire which the Miſ-

ſionaries

ſionaries profeſſed, of ſubjecting the *Abyſſines* to the *Pope*, a Thing they feared the more, the leſs they underſtood it. They might if they pleaſed at preſent, ſpare a great part of this Trouble, ſince I am perſuaded, that no *European* who enters *Abyſſinia* will be very deſirous of ſtaying there, or of ſending his Countrymen thither, ſince it is a Place where there is very little to be got. The richeſt Emperors ſeldom poſſeſs half a Million of Livres, and notwithſtanding all that is poſitively affirmed by our Authors, I am very confident there is no Gold in *Abyſſinia*; all that the Emperor receives coming from Regions lying to the South or South Weſt, farther into the Heart of *Africa*. I know that the *Abyſſines* themſelves do ſometimes pretend, that there are very rich Mines of Gold in their Country, but that they conceal them for fear of the *Turks*; yet I am perſuaded this is falſe; for if there were Gold Mines in their Hills, there would be Gold Duſt in their Rivers, their tempeſtuous Autumns eſpecially conſidered, and yet there is not; Iron and Lead indeed they have, but not in the Plenty that ſome have reported. Again, if there had been Gold Mines in *Ethiopia*, their ancient Emperors would have been rich; and as the *Abyſſines* are naturally vain, they would ſurely have left us ſome Marks of their Magnificence; whereas there is neither City nor Palace in all *Abyſſinia*. I do indeed believe, that a Thouſand Years ago there might have been Cities and Palaces both; but then the Emperors had not only thoſe Countries I ſpoke of under their Dominion, but a great Part of *Arabia* alſo, of which they were diſpoſſeſſed a little before the Birth of *Mohammed*, as their Hiſtorians ſay. This therefore proves nothing as to the Gold of

Abyſſinia,

Abyſſinia, and as to the *Aſiatic Ethiopia*, or of the *interior Ethiopia* in *Africk*, I believe that it abounds in both Countries, and to them therefore the *Europeans* muſt go who would fetch it, and not into *Abyſſinia*.

As our Writers generally deceive us, in reſpect to the Riches of this Country, ſo they deceive us not leſs in what they ſay of the Poverty of its Inhabitants, taking that Word in a moral Senſe; for the *Abyſſines* are ſo far from being ſtupid or indocil, that they are in Truth a very quick witted and tractable People, excepting only in ſome Points which concern their Civil and Religious Rites, wherein they conceive it to be the Intereſt of all Strangers to miſl ad them. As to Learning, without queſtion there is not much of it in *Abyſſinia*, yet are its Inhabitants not abſolutely deficient in this Point. They have a good Verſion of the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament in their own Tongue; a large Collection of the Works of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, in which it is ſaid there are none of the Errors of the *Eutychians*, or *Neſtorians*; a Modern Body of Divinity, which is full of them; ſeveral Volumes of the Lives of the Saints; many Treatiſes on Monaſtic Life; ſeveral Hiſtories of *Ethiopia*, of which I ſaw two, one that might have made ten Volumes in Folio, the other about half as big. The *Pſalter* of *David* is the Book moſt common amongſt them, and many of their *Monks* can repeat forty, fifty, nay a hundred Pſalms. Their Books of Hiſtory are written in a flowery figurative Stile, which however is far from being inelegant or unentertaining. On the contrary, *David Gomez*, who was a kind of Engineer in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, ſhewed me the beginning of

a Hiſtory which he had tranſlated into *Portuguez*, which would have been read with great Applauſe in *Europe*; where if the *Ethiopian* Writings are diſliked and diſeſteemed, it is becauſe they are not properly tranſlated; for the figurative Language of one Country ought not to be rendered into the literal, but into the figurative Language of another Country, and read with a proper Allowance for the Genius of the People from whoſe Tongue the Verſion is made. It is very true, that the *Monks* for the Generality are very unlearned; but it is alſo true, that they live very inoffenſively, and I am likewiſe certain, that ſome of them are well acquainted with all the Learning they have. However it muſt be acknowledged, that the Grandees, the great Officers at Court, and Governors of Provinces, are Men the beſt verſed in Hiſtory, a Study in which moſt of them very much delight, and on this Account they have always about them ſome who addict themſelves to this kind of Literature, and compoſe Memoirs of what paſſes in their own Times, which they dedicate to their Patrons.

In common Converſation the People are very complacent and communicative, nay, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Narea*, which lies the fartheſt from the *Red-Sea*, and conſequently from all Correſpondence with our part of the World, are by far the moſt polite People in *Abyſſinia*; nay the very Reſpect paid by their King to the Emperor, is the pure Effect of Politeneſs, ſince the *Abyſſinian* Monarch is in no Condition of exacting ſuch Marks of Homage, if the King of *Narea* ſhould refuſe them. *Abyſſinia* is not only vexed by very potent and cruel Neighbours,

Neighbours, differing from its Inhabitants in Religion, but there are alſo in its Bowels many Colonies of theſe their Adverſaries, who give them not a Grain the leſs Trouble for being their near Neighbours. Of theſe I ſhall ſpeak in their Order. Firſt then, the *Moors* or *Mohammedans* are poſſeſſed of almoſt all the *Eaſt* Coaſt of *Abyſſinia*, for the King of *Dancali*, and the King of *Adel*, with all their Subjects, are *Mohammedans*; and on the *Weſt* Side, the King of *Sennar*, and the People on the other Side of the River *Melec*, are moſt of them *Mohammedans* alſo. Formerly the *Moors* from *Adel* came in like a Torrent, and conquered a great part of *Abyſſinia*; but they were quickly driven out again, as indeed moſt of its Conquerors have been; for as ſoon as the *Abyſſines* perceive that they are not able to meet their Enemies in the Field, they retire to their *Ambas*, or inacceſſible Mountains, and leave the Conquerors to burn and plunder as they think fit. Then as ſoon as it is perceived that their Martial Ardour is abated, that they are exceſſively fatigued and over loaden with Prey, the *Abyſſines* begin to aſſemble, and falling upon them from all Quarters, oblige them at leaſt to quit their Country, if not to leave their Booty behind them.

SUCH of the *Moors* as are ſettled in *Abyſſinia*, are an induſtrious harmleſs People, and ſeem better diſpoſed to cultivate the Earth, and to improve the Places where they dwell than the *Abyſſines*. As for the *Jews* I am at a Loſs what to ſay of them; for if we conſider the ſeveral ſorts of them who live in and round *Abyſſinia*, and the Cuſtom of the *Abyſſines* themſelves, to obſerve the Sabbath ſtrictly, to circumciſe on the eighth Day, to uſe the Levitical Purifications, to abſtain from forbidden Meats,

Meats, to ſend away their Wives on every ſlight Occaſion with a Bill of Divorce, and to boaſt as they do, that their Monarch is the *Lion* of the Tribe of *Judah*; I ſay when one conſiders all this, one might be tempted to ſay they are all *Jews*. But to avoid giving Offence, after ſeperating the *Abyſſines*, who are a kind of Chriſtian *Jews*, the remainder may be divided into *Jews*, properly ſo called, and into thoſe who are *Jews* only by Deſcent. Of the firſt there are great Numbers in the Kingdom of *Dambea*; theſe were formerly very troubleſome, pretending to live in an independent manner, without yielding either Tribute or Submiſſion to the *Abyſſinian* Emperors. Theſe Princes for a Time wink'd at this, till an Opportunity ſerv'd for reducing them, againſt which, tho' to no Purpoſe, the *Jews* made a vigorous Reſiſtance. Since then, many of them are turned Chriſtians, and incorporated with the *Abyſſines*; but the remainder of them now very numerous, are the moſt induſtrious Mechanics and Traders in the *Abyſſinian* Empire. On the very Borders of this Country, on the other Side of the *Nile*, and among the barbarous People, there are many independent Colonies of *Jews*, of whoſe Government and manner of living very little Account can be given, except that they have the Scriptures of the old Teſtament in *Hebrew*, ſpeak themſelves that Language corruptly, and moſt bitterly hate the Chriſtians.

As to thoſe who are *Jews* only by Deſcent, they are the famous Nation of the *Gaus*, *Gallas* or *Chattas*, which laſt I take to be their true Name, at leaſt ſo themſelves pronounce it. It ſignifies white Men, and yet theſe People are black. However that they were once white is plain enough, for they have moſt of them

them *Roman* Noſes, thin Lips, and comely Features. They are tall, robuſt, well limb'd Men, very brave, but withal very cruel, and moſt abominable Thieves. It is not above an hundred Years that they have vexed the *Abyſſinian* Empire, or indeed that they were ever heard of there; but in all probability it will be at leaſt another hundred Years before the *Abyſſinians* get fairly rid of them, for they are now ſettled up and down all the Weſt Borders of the Empire. They live like the ancient Patriarchs, on the Product of their Herds and Flocks, never cultivating any Land, or Building any Thing more than Cabbins to cover them from the Weather. They worſhip one GOD, circumciſe, and vehemently abhor Idolatry; but as for any other religious Tenets, it does not appear what they hold. When their Children are young, their Fathers regard them no more than Dogs; but when they are grown big enough to hunt, and to fight, then they treat them with all imaginable Kindneſs and Affection. Theſe People are moſt juſtly accounted the moſt dangerous Enemies in the World; in offenſive Wars they are generally Victorious, and when they act on the diffenſive are always ſo. When they fight they either conquer or die; when they are attacked by a ſuperior Force, they drive away their Cattel, and retire ſo quick, that their Purſuers are quickly involved in their inhoſpitable Country, where there is neither Houſe, plow'd Field, or any Thing which can furniſh Subſiſtance; ſo that there is a Neceſſity of retiring *Re infecta*; and it is well if theſe People do not incommode their Retreat. Their Armies are compoſed of Horſe and Foot, the former are the more numerous, but the latter are the better Troops.

They

They are divided into ſeveral Tribes, ſome ſay ſeven, others nine; but I believe that Point to be uncertain; they are governed by a ſingle Magiſtrate, whom they ſtile *Lufo*, he has the Authority of a limited Monarch, acting nothing but by the Conſent of his Council. In Point of Promiſes, Treaties, or Agreements, theſe People are the moſt punctual in the World; when they make any it is with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony, and they are never known to break them, or to deceive thoſe who truſt them. Such of their Children as have been left in *Abyſſinia* in their ſudden Retreats, and have been bred up there, prove ſtrong, induſtrious, and beautiful Perſons, and when thorougly inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, are wonderfully pious, and much more conſtant than the *Abyſſines*, readily braving Death, rather than abjure their Faith. About the Year 1648, theſe People broke at once in ſix or ſeven Places into *Abyſſinia*, ravaging from South to North, and from Weſt to Eaſt, killing and deſtroying without Mercy all that came in their Way, preſuming ſo far, as to inveſt the *Turkiſh* Fortreſs over-againſt the Iſle of *Suakem*; but ſome Pieces of Cannon being diſcharged upon them, they retired from thence, and in about nine Months Space withdrew into their old Quarters. Since then they have made two other great Irruptions, and are continually making ſmall Incurſions; but in theſe they are content to plunder without doing any Body any Hurt, unleſs they find them with Arms in their Hands. While I wandered about in this Country, my Profeſſion made me every where welcome; and if the Inhabitants had been rich, I ſhould doubtleſs have brought ſomething conſiderable from thence. As it was, I collected

ted in *Abyſſinia*, chiefly in the South West Parts, eleven Ounces of Gold in Grains, three Topazes, one Emerald, and five greeniſh colour'd Stones tranſparent, hard, and beautiful; but what they are call'd I know not. Here ends this Relation, excepting what the Author ſays of the River of *Nile*, which I have inſerted in another Place, for the Sake of uniting my own Obſervations with his, that the Hiſtory of that noble River might not be broken or interrupted.

A DESCRIPTION of *EGYPT*, &c.

THE ordinary Cuſtom of Travellers in mixing their Geographical, Philoſophical, and Hiſtorical Remarks on Countries with the Thread of their Narratives, having often given me a great deal of Trouble in the peruſual of their Works, I therefore determined to eſſay another Method, which in Idea, at leaſt, ſeem'd more diſtinct and intelligible; and this gave Birth to the enſuing Picture of the Country of *Egypt*, its Produce and Inhabitants, wherein I have ſtudied to digeſt Things as naturally as I could, that their Connection might render them reciprocally clear, and the whole appear a Body of tollerable Symmetry, and not with ſuch Ricketty and unproportionable Limbs as I have ſometimes ſeen in Things of this Nature.

EGYPT then is in Scripture called either *Mizraim*, or the Land of *Cham*. The *Copti*, or natural In-

habitants of the Country call it *Maſſr* or *Chemi*, the *Turks Miſſar*. Theſe are all in Effect one Name, and ſeem an evident Demonſtration of the Veracity of the *Moſaic* Writings. As to the Name of *Egypt*, which with ſome difference in the Orthography, is the Appellation this Country is known by in our Weſtern parts, it is derived from the Story or Fable of the *Greeks* concerning *Egyptus*. But to paſs from Names to Things.

EGYPT ſtretches itſelf from the 22 deg. to the 31 deg. of North Latitude, being bounded on the Eaſt by the *Iſthmus* of *Suez*, a mountainous Country, which divides it from that part of *Arabia* lying between it and *Judea*. I ſay, it is bounded on this Side by theſe Mountains, and by the *Red-Sea*, which waſhes all its Coaſt up to its Southern Boundaries, which are the frontier Kingdoms of the *Abyſſinian* Empire, *viz. Fungi* and *Sennaar*; on the Weſt it hath the great Deſarts of *Africk*, to which I chuſe to give no Name; becauſe the Names we give ſerve only to confound us. On the North it hath the *Mediterranean* Sea, and we may ſafely affirm, that there is not a Country in the Univerſe better ſituate for Defence than this.

MANY Authors affirm, that the Letter Y affords an eaſy and accurate Notion of the Form of *Egypt*. At one Point they place the City of *Roſetta*, the City of *Damietta* at the other. *Grand Cairo* at the Junction of theſe Limbs with the Body of the letter, and the Cataracts of the *Nile* at the Foot of it. To me theſe Notions ſeem trivial and puerile, and much more capable of doing Hurt than Good. I grant that this Deſcription ſuits the *Nile* well enough; but I deny that it gives any tolerable Account of *Egypt*, becauſe the City

of

of *Alexandria* lies a great Way on one Side of the Y, as the *Iſthmus* of *Suez* does on the other. A Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the Eaſt Side of the *Nile*, and another Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the Weſt. At *Cairo* theſe Mountains open and turn off with the two great Branches of the River; thoſe on the Eaſt remain ſtill high and arduous Mountains; but thoſe on the Weſt dwindle into ſandy Hillocks, and form a kind of Downs. The Plain included between theſe Ridges, the middle of which is occupied by the *Nile*, is in ſome Places very narrow, in others as in the Province of *Fium* of conſiderable Breadth; but it is every where fertile, and well cultivated. The Mountains on the Weſt are the Boundaries of *Egypt*, and have Deſarts behind them, but the Mountains of the Eaſt are not ſo, they have behind them a Plain for the moſt part ſandy and uninhabitable, reaching to the Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*.

THIS Deſcription ſeems to have little Affinity with thoſe magnificent ones, which are to be met with in ancient Authors; but this I cannot help, I am bound to ſpeak Truth, yet I cannot avoid owning, that I think they ſpoke Truth too. For tho' it is certain that there is ſcarce any Proportion between the Number of People which are now in *Egypt*, and the Number reported to have dwelt there formerly, yet it is as certain, that there is as great a Diſproportion between the Number of People in other Parts of the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions, and thoſe that are here ſtill. For my own Part, I am fully perſuaded, that a very great Proportion of that Part of *Egypt* which is now uninhabitable, was former-

ly not only ſprinkled with Cities, but very fruitful and pleaſant.

All this was occaſioned by the Induſtry of the ancient Inhabitants, and the Wiſdom of their Kings, as the preſent deplorable State of theſe Places are the Reſult of the Lazineſs of the People, and the Folly of their Governors. *A pleaſant Land maketh he barren for the Wickedneſs of thoſe who dwell therein*, ſaith the inſpired Writer, and this is juſt as true as that God made the World. In another Place it is ſaid, *that God gives Kings in his Wrath, and Governors in his ſore Diſpleaſure.* Here is an exact Account of what happens to all Countries, and what muſt happen to all. A religious and virtuous People, have religious and virtuous Princes, theſe contrive good Things, and execute them with Spirit; a vicious and degenerate People have Kings given them in Wrath, and they depopulate the Country, and make War on Nature; this makes the Difference between the ancient and modern *Egypt*, as it alſo does between *Switzerland*, and the *Campania di Roma.*

The Air of *Egypt*, according to ſome Writers, is the moſt foul and unwholeſome in the World, in the Judgment of others, the moſt ſerene and ſalubrious. For my own Part, I think them both in the Right, and both in the wrong, as I ſhall ſhew by ſtating this Matter truly. *November*, *December*, and *January* are the Winter Months, wherein the *Franks* and the *Turks* wear Garments lined with Furs, believing the Weather to be very cold; in fact however it is not ſo, but the Diſpoſition of their Bodies makes them have very quick Senſation, as I eaſily diſcerned by myſelf. I arrived in the

the Winter, and thought the Weather very moderate; but the next Winter I felt it very cold, and yet by my Glaſs it appeared that the former Winter had been colder. To the Winter ſucceeds a Spring of about ſix Weeks, which is very pleaſant. About the *Vernal Equinox* the South Winds begin to blow, and they blow more or leſs till the Sun reaches the Tropic of Cancer. The *Arabians* call theſe Winds *Chamſin*, i. e. of *Cambyſes*; becauſe it was by theſe Winds that his Army periſhed in their *Ethiopian* Expedition; then it is that *Egyptian* Air is unwholeſome. Theſe Winds blow ſometimes three, four, or five Days together, and then for a Day or two there is a Breeze from the North; ſometimes they blow for nine, ten, eleven, or twelve Days, and then the Air is peſtiferous, and Multitudes die of an Hour's Sickneſs. All this however is uncertain, for ſome Years they do very little Miſchief, and in other Years again they do a great deal. This only is certain, that they begin to blow about the Equinox, and that they ceaſe blowing on the riſing of the *Nile*, *viz.* 17th of *June*. Immediately after this, the North and Weſt Winds blow conſtantly Night and Day, and ſo temper the Heat of the Climate, that it is far from being either intemperate or unwholeſome. This pleaſant Seaſon of the Year continues from the middle of *June* till towards the End of *September*, during which Space the Country being overflown, the Inhabitants give themſelves up wholly to Pleaſure, to which indeed they are always prone.

That *Egypt* on the whole is far from being unwholeſome, appears from the Temper of the Natives, from their enjoying almoſt a conſtant State of Health,

unleſs interrupted by ſome exterior Accident, or ſome wrong Management of their own, and by their *Longævity*, there being in this Country Numbers upwards of fourſcore, ſo robuſt in their Conſtitutions, as not only to uſe Women, but to beget Children. The Soil of *Egypt* as it lies in the fourth and fifth North Climate ought to be fertile, yet I think that properly ſpeaking, it is not ſo, but rather quite the contrary, as abounding with Salt and Nitre, and in ſome Places mixt with Sand. But the Mud left by the *Nile* covering and mixing with theſe, produces a Soil fruitful to a Miracle. But where the *Nile* comes not theſe Advantages are wanting, and the Soil is perfectly barren, but not uſeleſs, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. They dig various Clays, fit for different Purpoſes, ſome are of the Nature of Fuller's Earth, ſome ſerve to cleanſe, to ſtrengthen, and to give a bright yellow Colour to the Ladies Hair, ſome are medicinal, and in that Reſpect of great Value; but moſt of them are fit for making earthern Ware, eſpecially for Water Jars, which for cooling and clearing the Liquid contained in them, excell all the Earthen Ware in the World. Near the Burgh of *Chaſaghut* in the upper *Egypt*, they dig a Clay of a pale Pink Colour, of which they make all ſorts of Veſſels, and of a very high Price, on Account not only of their Beauty, but of their odoriferous Smell, which they never looſe.

As to the other Commodities reſulting from the Soil of *Egypt*, we will divide them into ſuch as are found thereon, ſuch as grow therein, and ſuch as are produced thereby. Of the firſt the principal are Salt and Nitre. As to the Salt of *Egypt*, it is without all Compariſon the beſt in the Univerſe, the Reaſon of which I take

take to be, that it is ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Manufacture of Nature. After the receſs of the *Nile* it is found ſpread upon the Earth like a white Sheet, in ſuch quantities, that it bears a ſmall Price, neither do they hinder any Body from gathering what may ſuffice for his own Uſe. It is white as Snow, hard as Sand, peculiarly fine in its Taſte, which is ſimply pungent without any bitterneſs. *Nitre*, which the *Arabs* call *Natron*, is not ſo eaſily had, neither is it taken out of the Earth in all Parts of *Egypt*. An *Arabian* Prince who reſides at *Laux*, and who hath three hundred and ſixty Hamlets or Villages under his Dominion, employs conſtantly fifty Camels in carrying *Nitre* to *Cairo*. It is thought that he ſells annually as much as comes to 100,000 *Sequins*. There are two ſorts of *Nitre*, the one of Roſe Colour, very hard and weighty, this they call *Sultani*, the other White and light, and leſs valued, called *La Sultani*. *Sal ammoniacum*, or as we call it *Sal Armoniac*, is alſo made in *Egypt* with great Facility, and to the great Profit of ſuch as deal in it.

As to the Riches which are found in the Heart of the Soil, we muſt reckon among them that vaſt abundance of Marble which is met with in upper *Egypt*, an exact Deſcription of the ſeveral Sorts whereof would take up a Volume; I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that there are Mines of an *Onyx* Colour, the Stones dug out of which are nearly tranſparent; there are others of a Honey Colour, wonderfully bright and ſhining; alſo a ſort of green Marble regularly ſprinkled with Blood-red Spots; *Porphyry* in abundance; and in the extreme Parts of *Egypt* towards *Ethiopia*, a hard, red, ſhining Stone, with golden Streaks and Spots. As to precious Stones I have

already ſaid enough concerning Emeralds; and beſides theſe there are Chryſolites, Heliotropes, Jaſps, and I have been told Topazes; but I cannot affirm it. There is alſo a blue Stone of great Beauty, which differs from the Turquoiſe as well as from the Saphire, being opaque like the former, but in Colour inclining to the latter, curiouſly ſprinkled as it were with Grains of Gold. Eagle Stones are alſo found here very commonly. Vitriol, Allom, and *Lapis Calaminaris* are found there in abundance; all excellent in their Kind.

To ſpeak of all the Plants of *Egypt*, would require more Time and Experience than any Traveller, who did not go thither for that purpoſe, can beſtow; I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with touching on a few Curioſities that ſeldom eſcape the Knowledge and Admiration of intelligent Enquirers. There grows in *Egypt* a kind of Night-ſhade call'd by the Inhabitants *Dtatura*. The Bloſſom of this Plant is ſweet-ſcented, and it produces a round Fruit encloſed in a prickly Shell, the Core of which Fruit is full of yellow Seeds. I do not know any Good that can be done either with the Fruit or Flowers, but with the Seeds they do a great deal of Miſchief, for grinding them when dry, they make a Powder or Meal, which without caſting Men into a Sleep, or apparent Heavineſs, diſorders, or rather locks up the Senſes. Thieves mix it up in Bread, and travelling in a Caravan, find Means to ſlip it upon ſome of their Companions, from whom, an Hour after they have eaten thereof, they take what they pleaſe, the Men being ſenſeleſs, and make the beſt of their Way. There is an Herb, call'd *Culcas* by the *Arabs*, by us *Colocaſia*, mightily eſteem'd by the Inhabitants who eat it raw and boiled; it is of a windy flatu-

lent

lent Nature, but is a ſtrong Provocative, and therefore theſe People exceedingly delight in it. The *Papyrus* grows in the *Nile*, having a ſtrong Root, and many ſtrait Stalks, very high above the Water; its Leaves are triangular, and pretty thick in the middle. This was, heretofore, the all-uſeful Plant, now of no Uſe at all. The Native call Cucumbers, *Chate*; and *Egypt* may be properly ſtiled their Country, for they grow there to an exceſſive Bigneſs, are almoſt tranſparent, but at the ſame time their Juices ſo thoroughly concocted by the Sun, that they are at once much pleaſanter than our Cucumbers, and perfectly innocent; ſo that they are eaten in Fevers. In the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria* there grow in great Plenty a kind of Trees call'd *Dachel*, or *Dadel*, peculiar to this Country; and which though they ſeldom ſhoot high, bear a very large Fruit. There is no Part of this Tree which is not of Uſe; the Stock or Body of it is cut into ſound Timber; its Boughs are turned into all Sorts of Wooden Ware; with its Leaves they wrap up Things; of its Bark they make Packthread, and a Sort of Ropes; and its Fruit hath a wonderful rich fine Taſte. As to Grain and Pulſe, they have all Sorts in great Plenty, and excellent, eſpecially Wheat and wild Rice, with this peculiar Advantage, that they are never at the Trouble of plowing or of weeding; they only ſcatter the Seed in the Mud, then draw a wooden Harrow over it, and ſo let it reſt till Harveſt.

As to the Birds of *Egypt*, they have moſt of the ſorts which are common in *Europe*, as well as many that we have not; Quails in ſuch abundance, that the Country-People take them with their Hands, but then their Fleſh is black, hard, and ill-taſted. The Merchants at *Alexandria*

andria buy them alive, feed them in Coops, and thereby remove that offenfive Bitterneſs which they have from their wild Food. Turtles alſo abound here, and build about their Houſes. They have alſo very good Pidgeons, and in great Plenty; Swallows of two Sorts, which I think very remarkable, one, which is exactly like ours, and a Bird of Paſſage; the other, of a darker Colour, and without any Mixture of white, which ſtays in *Egypt* the whole Year. Geeſe and Swans are frequently ſeen ſwimming in the Branches of the *Nile*. Storks and Cranes are common; and many of the great Men keep of the former tame. Hawks there are excellent in their Kind, and which formerly were ſold into *Europe* at great Prices; as alſo Kites, which the *Arabs* and *Moors* know how to tame, and to make uſe of in Fowling. In the Deſarts, towards *Suez*, there are Oſtriches, but it is thought that they are not Natives of *Egypt*, but Inmates only from the neighbouring Countries. Our common Hens are the Fowls moſt eat in *Egypt*, where they have two Sorts, one of the ſame Size with ours, the other very little inferior to Geeſe in Bigneſs, both very cheap, and eaſily to be had every where. Beſides theſe, they have a Kind of Fowl brought from *Numidia*, the Fleſh of which is very fine, and well taſted; this is one of their greateſt Dainties, and ſold dear. As they hatch all their Eggs in Ovens, their Hens are conſequently never broody; and Eggs alſo are very plenty, which is neceſſary, becauſe they make a great Part of the Food of the common People.

THE *Nile* is very well ſtored with Fiſh, and the Fiſh therein are remarkably large and fat, particularly a kind of Pike, exceſſively voracious, and which ſometimes come

come to be ſo large as to weigh eighty Pounds. Eels are here in great Plenty, and high Perfection, ſome as thick as a Man's Arm, but they are not wholeſome at all Times; and in the Months of *April* and *May* eſpecially they are ſo dangerous, that many People have been poiſoned by eating them. There is a broad fat Fiſh in the *Nile*, which though it differs widely from ours in Form, yet all the *Europeans* here will have to be a Tench, becauſe the Fleſh taſtes like that of a Tench, and is therefore very much eſteemed. There are alſo ſpotted Mullets, that are much valued, and are indeed a fine firm Fiſh. In the *Nile* likewiſe are abundance of Tortoiſes, very large, and their Fleſh very ſweet and good, eſpecially when thoroughly boiled, otherwiſe it is unwholeſome. The Cities of *Alexandria*, *Roſetta*, and *Damiettà*, are furniſh'd with all Sorts of Sea-Fiſh in the higheſt Perfection, and at very low Prices. Of theſe I ſhall only mention Soles, which are of an extraordinary Size, and yet perfectly well taſted. They ſalt a great deal of Fiſh for Exportation, as alſo the Spawn of Fiſh, which is of a very high Reliſh, and is call'd *Botarat*. From the Fiſh I think it is moſt natural to proceed to the Inſects, of which there are great Variety in *Egypt*.

THE Ants there are exceſſively large, and very furious, ſtinging or biting ſuch as diſturb them with as much Rage as a Dog, whereby they excite a burning Anguiſh which continues for a long Time, and is not eaſily cured. Some of them have Wings, and theſe are ſtill more troubleſome. Flies and Gnats ſting here more than any where elſe, and there are ſuch abundance of the latter, that without defending the Beds by Nets, there would be no ſuch thing as ſleeping. Studious Perſons

ſons, and ſuch, as are much within Doors, are forced to have Nets at their Windows, and at their Chamber-doors, to prevent theſe troubleſome Gueſts from entering. There are many Kinds of Spiders, large and venomous, with theſe the *Ichneumon Waſp* is continually at War; and nothing can be more entertaining than to obſerve the Arts made uſe of by theſe Enemies to incline Victory to their Side. There are abundance of *Bees*, eſpecially on the Banks of the *Nile*, where in hollow Trees, or in Caverns, they fix their Combs, and make both excellent Honey and Wax. There are many Scorpions in *Egypt*, but all of them either white or green; they do not exceed thoſe of *France* in Size, but in Venom they tranſcend thoſe and all other Creatures in the World. The white are leſs venomous than the green, that is to ſay, their Poiſon does not operate ſo ſoon; but with Reſpect to both, an Amputation of the bitten Limb is the ſole Expedient for preventing Death in a few Hours time with incredible Torture. Yet the *Moors*, who make a Trade of catching theſe Creatures for the Uſe of Apothecaries, who make an Oil of them, which is very valuable; theſe *Moors*, I ſay, lay hold of them without Fear, with their bare Hands, carry them in their Boſoms, take them out from thence, and put them into the Apothecaries Veſſels, without the leaſt Apprehenſion; neither hath it been known that any of theſe People have been bit; for I ſuppoſe if they were, they would not eſcape better than the *Whites*. As to black Scorpions, or flying ones, of which ſome Authors ſpeak very confidently, and many People in *Egypt* are ready to aſſert that ſuch Creatures there are, I ſhall only ſay that I never ſaw any, nor ever heard any Perſon of Credit aſſert that he had himſelf ſeen

any

any ſuch. Serpents and Snakes there are of innumerable Kinds; I ſhall mention only a few. Of Aſps there are three Sorts. The firſt of theſe is the ſpitting or ſpewing Aſp, ſo call'd from its ejecting its Poiſon thro' its Teeth. The Antients call'd it *Phiyas*; and this was the Serpent *Cleopatra* made uſe of when ſhe reſolved to end her Misfortunes by Death. This Serpent is about three Feet long, and rather bigger than our Viper; its Bite is mortal, and generally eſteemed incurable; but this is far from being a proper Deſcription of the Nature of its Venom, which is very ſingular. It is thought that this Creature ejects leſs in Quantity than any other of the Kind; however that be, it is certain that the Punctures made by its Teeth are ſcarce diſcernable. After a Perſon has been bitten about an Hour, he finds himſelf heavy and inclined to Sleep, without any Pain or Diſorder of Mind; by degrees, however, he finds his Limbs loſe their Strength, a kind of pleaſing Stupidity invade his animal Faculties; and ſo he dies without a Groan or a Complaint. The ſecond ſort of Aſp, in Colour, Shape, and Length, reſembles a *Pike*. The laſt Sort are from fifteen to eighteen Inches long, their Bellies white, their Backs of a very deep blue; they have their Holes in the Banks of the *Nile*, from whence they ſpring with a terrible and fatal Fury. Amputation is the only Cure, and where that cannot be had, the Patient dies in terrible Agonies. The Horn Serpent is a great Curioſity; the *Egyptians* call it *Tabyr*; and the Antients have abundance of odd Stories about it. After all, it is far from being uncommon, and a little Care is ſufficient to remove all the Doubts that have been raiſed concerning it. It is of a yellow Colour, about eighteen Inches

long,

long, a round ſlender Body, with a broad flat Head; the Females have at the Corner of their Eyes two ſtrong pointed Horns; the Male hath but one, which is towards his Noſe. They live chiefly in dry Places, and are thought to draw their Nouriſhment from Nitre and Salt. They are extremely venomous, and Thoſe who are bitten by them die of Thirſt, which no Art can palliate. As to Serpents of great Magnitude, they are not frequently ſeen, but there are certainly in *Egypt* ſome as thick as a Man's Thigh, and fifteen or twenty Feet long: But for Dragons and flying Serpents, I am apt to believe they rather live in the Heads of fanciful Men, than either in this or any other Country. I will conclude this Article with an Account of the moſt wonderful, though the moſt common Serpent in *Egypt*. This is call'd by the Inhabitants *Tohbam*, and is generally between three and ſix Feet long, though ſome have been ſeen a great deal bigger. It hath a fleſhy Subſtance reaching on each Side of its Neck from its Jaw to about a third Part of its Body; this it either ſtiffens or contracts as it will, and thereby not only erects itſelf in a ſurpriſing Manner, but alſo throws it ſelf forward as if it flew. It is uſually found in the *Catacombs*, and among ancient Ruins; but its Affection for Men, as it is very ſingular, ſo it is alſo unaccountable. If the Juglers only, who never fail to have many of theſe Species of Serpents, were poſſeſſed of the Skill of Taming them, it would be leſs wonderful; but this is ſo far from being the Caſe, that all Degrees of People who delight in Animals feed and keep theſe Creatures about them. They are not only tame and innoxious, but alſo uſeful and docible, to a degree beyond our Dogs in *Europe*, inſomuch that nothing

thing can be more diverting than to ſee them play over the Tricks they are taught.

Of Scaly Lizard-like Animals, there are great Variety in *Egypt*, particularly the *Cameleon*, which reſembles much an ordinary Lizard, yet is it far leſs beautiful, neither has it almoſt any of thoſe Properties for which it was celebrated by the Antients. It is ſo far from living upon Air, that it is a very voracious Animal, maintaining it ſelf by catching and eating of Flies. As to changing of Colour, that too is a Miſtake, unleſs its having a changeable colour'd Skin may paſs for a Wonder. As to its Eye turning every Way, therein the Deſcription is right, for it doth ſo in a very odd Manner, one Eye looking forwards, and the other frequently behind; and this Proviſion Nature hath made that it may eaſily catch its Prey. The *Scinos*, or Land-Crocodile, is a very exact Copy of the Water One, but very little and harmleſs, feeding moſtly upon Flowers and Herbs, eſpecially ſuch as are of a ſweet Smell. The Crocodile it ſelf delights in the *Nile*, but more in the great Lakes formed by Channels, derived from thence. In the *Delta* there are ſometimes Crocodiles ſeen, but ſmall and lean; this the Inhabitants of *Egypt* aſcribe to the Power of a *Taliſman*; but the true Reaſon ſeems to be the Number of Boats on the River, and of Villages on its Banks, for the Crocodiles naturally fly from and avoid Men in Companies; for if they are ſingle, and in the upper *Egypt*, they will venture to attack them. The Ancients have certainly reported abundance of things falſely of this Creature, for which there was the leſs Occaſion, ſince in it ſelf it is a wonderful Creature, as well as moſt terrible and cruel. It is believed to grow as long

as it lives, and it is certain that ſome have been ſeen upwards of thirty Feet long. It runs ſwiftly, but cannot eaſily turn; its great Strength lies in its Tail, which it uſes very nimbly, ſtriking its Prey therewith, and ſo ſtupifying it before it eats it. Some have ſpoken of tame Crocodiles, but ſurely with little Certainty, ſince at *Cairo* it is known by Experience that when a young Crocodile is taken, it will refuſe Meat till it dies. The Female Crocodile lays about ſixty Eggs at a time; they are not bigger than thoſe of a Gooſe; the young Crocodiles are ſmall in Proportion, but they are amazingly ſwift in their Growth. They are taken by various Arts; and ſome of the *Moors* are ſo hardy, that with a ſtrong Rope they will venture into the *Nile*, and after a long Combat, drag out a Crocodile, and bring him to *Cairo*, where they firſt make a kind of Show of him, and then kill him.

THE Inhabitants of *Egypt* are *Copts*, or *Cophti*; *Jews*, *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Turks* and *Franks*, or *European Chriſtians*. Of all theſe in their Order. The *Copts*, or *Cophts*, are the natural Inhabitants of this Country. This Name ſignified originally the Inhabitants of the *Coptic Nome*, the Capital of which was the City of *Coptos*, but by degrees it hath been extended to all the *Egyptian Chriſtians*. In like manner the *Arabians* ſtiled them *Kibthi*, from *Kibth*, which is the modern Name of the ancient City of *Coptos*. Theſe poor People may be juſtly reckoned among the moſt dejected and diſtreſſed Nations in the Univerſe. The *Turks*, and all the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, treat them with the opprobrious Name of Infidels; and, on the other hand, the Chriſtians, in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, look upon them as Heretics,

Heretics. Thus are they perſecuted and deſpiſed by Friends and Strangers, and lead their Lives in the moſt abject Sort of Slavery that can be imagined. They were formerly very numerous, but at preſent they are much reduced, and daily decreaſing. The Language they uſe is peculiar to their Nation, and ſeems to be a Compound of the ancient *Egyptian*, and of the *Greek* Tongue as it was ſpoken by the Soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. In reſpect to their religious Tenets, they have been groſly miſrepreſented; and though it be true that they are not a learned or very quick-witted Nation, yet are they far from being ſo ſtupid or ignorant as they are generally repreſented.

It is certain that they are zealous Chriſtians, and that they have very juſt Notions of the Cauſes and Conſequences of Christ's Coming, whom they ſtile the *Meſſiah*. They baptize by three Immerſions, invoking the Perſons of the Holy Trinity ſeparately. Namely, one at each Immerſion. They likewiſe uſe many Unctions with that Ceremony. When any of them are indiſpoſed, the Prieſt comes and prays by them, and not only anoints the ſick Perſon, but alſo All who are preſent with him in the Room with conſecrated Oil, for which they aſſign this Reaſon, that the Diſeaſe may not retire from the ſick Perſon to any of his Friends, which they believe to be prevented by this general Unction. The *Roman* Catholicks affect to treat this Proceeding with great Contempt; and yet an indifferent Perſon will be apt to think that it is juſt as well founded as theirs. In giving the Euchariſt they are very ſingular, for to Infants, immediately after Baptiſm, they give only the Wine, to Men they give the Communion under both

Species; and to the Women, who offer their Devotions without the Sanctuary, they give the Bread only, having first moistened it with a drop or two of the Wine. Confession to Priests they permit, but they do not compel it; they fast constantly on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and observe besides three *Lents* in the Year; but then they eat Flesh on all the *Sundays* in the Year, and every *Saturday*, except the *Saturday* in the Holy Week. They are wonderfully sincere in all their Acts of Devotion; and though their extreme Poverty, and that excessive Dejection of Mind which is derived from thence makes them contemptible in the Eyes of the *Franks* in general, yet those who endeavour to lay aside these Prejudices cannot but receive much Edification from the Purity of their Lives, and the Humility of their Deportment.

THEIR Clergy consists of Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, and a Patriarch, who sits in the Chair of St. *Mark*, whose Successor he is by an uninterrupted Chain of Prelates, which gives him a great Authority in this Part of the World. Their Bishops are eleven in Number, their Patriarch making the twelfth. As for the last he is a Monk, one, of whose Chastity there is no Suspicion, and who is generally compell'd to take upon him this high Office. He is a kind of Prince or Judge of his People, and besides consecrates the *Abuna*, or Patriarch of *Ethiopia*. To this Patriarch of the *Copts*, who is generally stiled Patriarch of *Alexandria*, there belongs a Revenue of near six thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, all of which he bestows in the Relief of the Poor, or on national Occasions, reserving for his own Subsistence the Alms of good Christians, which he asks with great Humility, and lives upon them very frugally, riding

riding up and down on an Aſs without any other Enſign of Dignity than his paſtoral Staff. The greateſt of their Errors ſeems to be that of Circumciſing, which is either the Remains of ſome *Judaical* Notion, or which is more probable, hath been introduced ſince the Conqueſt of *Egypt* by the *Mohammedans*, in Complaiſance to them. But this Practice begins to be diſuſed, and ſeveral of their Patriarchs have declared againſt it. Their Monks live in Deſarts, in large Monaſteries, where they fare very hardly, labour with their Hands, and ſpend all their Time in Acts of Piety and Charity, which they exerciſe chiefly towards the *Arabs*, who travelling in theſe waſte Places, find themſelves often on the Point of periſhing for Want, from which they are delivered by the Supplies afforded them by theſe Monks. As to the Laity, they are either induſtrious Mechanics, laborious Peaſants, or Stewards to *Turkiſh* Lords, who make Choice of them for their remarkable Fidelity. With Trade they meddle not, leſt it ſhould corrupt their Manners: And ſo ſtrictly are they bound to their Religion and their Country, that no Proſpects of Preferment can ever allure them to think of quitting *Egypt*, or changing that laborious Life which they lead there for one more commodious in another Place.

THE *Jews* are very numerous here, for which there is a very good Reaſon, *viz.* the great Conveniency they have of getting Money, for which, it is well known, that they compaſs Sea and Earth, and neglect no Methods of attaining it that their own quick Wits ſuggeſt. There are certainly forty thouſand at leaſt in *Egypt*, who All live upon the Labours of others; for, except a few Toys and childiſh Baubles, they make nothing themſelves; but by Peddling, Quacking, acting as Brokers, and

above all, turning Collectors of the Revenue, Tax-gatherers, and Financiers, they make a Shift to amaſs Fortunes at the Expence of the People, which they ſeldom live to enjoy, at leaſt in Quiet, for Reaſons that will hereafter appear. The common Opinion is, that the Climate and Soil of this Country transform all its Natives into perfect *Egyptians*, that is, into Men without Will to Labour, Courage to Fight, or Ambition to diſtinguiſh themſelves any other Way, Finery excepted. The *Jews*, however, eſcape this Infection pretty well, and ſeem to preſerve their Subtilty, Avarice, and adulatory Addreſs, as well here as in other Parts of the World. There is no ſort of Trade carried on without their having not only a Share therein, but the principal Direction thereof: So that *Chriſtians* and *Turks* are conſtrained to make Uſe of them, though the former are always diffident of them, and the latter deſpiſe and deteſt them. As a Proof of this, I need only obſerve, that the *Mohammedan* Divines aſſign to the wicked *Jews* the loweſt Parts of Hell, where they fancy they are confined ſeparately from thoſe of their Religion, and from the Chriſtians. Whenever they ſpeak of them, they do it in Terms of Hatred and Contempt; and yet their moſt important Affairs are managed by them, of which, as near as I can, I ſhall endeavour to point out the Reaſons.

THE *Jews*, as they are ſcattered over the Face of the Earth, ſo they maintain amongſt themſelves a very ſtrict and regular Correſpondence; this gives them vaſt Advantages, eſpecially among People who keep no Correſpondence at all; and therefore the Need they have of them obliges the *Turks* to employ them. Again, their Skill

Skill in Money-Matters, their Knowledge in Trade, their Acquaintance with the Means of ſelling or procuring any thing that is offered or wanted, renders them a ſort of Tools which are not only convenient, but which Men, like the *Turks* and *Arabs*, cannot be without. But above all, their Subtleneſs, their Fawning, their mean Condeſcenſions, and their adroit Flattery, makes them the propereſt Agents in the World for the *Turkiſh* Officers, who are equally indolent, and proud, deſirous of enjoying all Things, and who notwithſtanding cannot bear the Thoughts of doing any thing. Hence from the Baſhaw of *Cairo*, down to the Aga in any garriſon'd Place, there is not one of them but hath *Jews* about him, by whoſe Advice and Aſſiſtance he pillages the People, and enriches himſelf. The *Jews*, however, here, and throughout all the *Eaſt*, affect to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Jews* of the *Weſt*, (who alſo come on their Occaſions into theſe Parts of the World) and treat them as if they were much below them, chiefly on this Account, that they boaſt of having preſerved greater Privileges in the *Eaſt* than their Brethren have in the *Weſt*; as alſo that their Copies of the Scripture are purer and more correct; whereas the *Turks* ſtick not to affirm, that they have corrupted the Scriptures, which is the Reaſon they aſſign for their being puniſhed more in the other World than any other Nation. Many of theſe People pretend to Skill in Phyſic, but few of them are any better than Empiricks, exceſſively ignorant, and as exceſſively arrogant. There are alſo abundance of them Aſtrologers, Geomantiſts, and Profeſſors of other occult Sciences; but miſerable Profeſſors they are, for if their Impudence be excepted, which is indeed ſuperior to other

People's in a ſuperlative degree, they have ſeldom the common Rudiments of Knowledge even in thoſe Arts in which they boaſt themſelves Proficients.

In Impoſture they have gone farther than any other Nation, which is the ſole Reaſon, as I apprehend, that the Story of the wandering *Jew* hath circulated over all the World, and is equally believed by the Vulgar in *China* and in *Great Britain*. The *Mohammedans* tell us very ſeriouſly that he is *Zerid*, a Deſcendant from *Elias*, and that he was ſeen by one of their Prophet's Commanders in a certain high Mountain, where he told him that he had remained all this time alive by the Command of Jesus Christ; and that he was to attend his ſecond Coming, of which he pretended to acquaint the *Arab* with certain Marks or Tokens, not unlike thoſe, which in the *Revelations* are made coincident with the coming of Antichriſt. The Chriſtians again, I mean the Oriental Chriſtians, have contrived a very orderly Story on this Head, from which they ſeldom or never vary; and the Subſtance of it is this, that the Name of the wandering *Jew* is *Joſeph*, and that he was an Uſher to *Pilate*, in which Quality puſhing our Saviour out of the Palace with opprobrious Language, Jesus turned and ſaid, *The Son of Man goeth hence, but thou ſhalt remain here until I come.* Struck with theſe Words, it is ſaid that he became a Convert to the Chriſtian Religion, and hath ſince that Time wandered up and down the World, renewing his Age after this Manner. When he attains the Age of a Hundred, he falls firſt into Convulſions, and then into a Swoon, or deep Sleep, from which he awakens in the full Vigour of a Man of forty-five. They pretend that his Memory remains perfect, and that he is able to give a diſtinct

distinct Account of whatever hath come to his Knowledge throughout all the Time he has lived. Dr. *Salviati* assured me that such a Person had been seen about the middle of the sixteenth Century in *Germany*, where though he was very strictly examined by *Jews* as well as *Christians*, they were unable to detect him in any Falsehood: And I have been also told, that a Person assuming this Character had been seen in *Egypt* several Times. All the Use I make of this Relation is to shew the universal Prejudice of the Inhabitants of all Countries against this unhappy People, whose Dispersion, and the Circumstances attending it, afford such convincing Proofs of the Truth both of the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Revelations, as might convince any Man who would be at the Pains to consider them attentively.

Under the general Name of *Moors* I comprehend all the *Mohammedans* from *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Fez* and *Morocco*, who flying from the Poverty of their native Countries, come by Multitudes into *Egypt*, to pick up a miserable Subsistance by all Sorts of slavish Employments, or by downright begging. To say that these People are treated with the utmost Scorn and Indignity by the *Turks*, is to give them no distinguishing Character at all, since they treat without Distinction all the Peasants and Villagers in *Egypt* whom they stile *Felacs* in the same Way. They impose on them what Tasks they think fit, exact Obedience by any Means rather than fair ones, abuse and maltreat them with their Tongues and with their Hands; and after all this, if the poor Wretches should make the least Resistance, Death would certainly be the End of all their Miseries. What Wonder then that these hopeless People should be timid in their Na-

tures, whoſe Spirits are broken from their Infancy, and in whom the Diſpoſition of a manly appearance would be fatal? Hence the Word *Felac* is amongſt the better ſort of People of all others the moſt outragious Reproach, as carrying in it an Impeachment of a Man's Underſtanding, Morals, and Bravery, ſinking them at once into the Rank of Blockheads and Cowards. But to return to the *Moors*.

In a Country where there are ſo many who require Service, and where no Man will labour who can ſubſiſt in ever ſo poor a manner without it, there muſt be occaſion ſufficient for many Hands, and this is that which invites theſe poor People to *Alexandria*, *Roſetta*, *Damietta*, and other Towns in *Egypt*, where they let out Aſſe, work in the Gardens, ply as Porters, and perform whatever elſe is required of them for ſuch daily Wages as in *England* would ſcarce be offered to a Beggar at the Door. Bread, Herbs and Salt, are all their Subſiſtance, and tho' they live in a Land of Plenty, yet they look like ſo many Ghoſts, eſpecially where their Numbers very much exceed the Neceſſities of their Maſters, as frequently happens, and then the Fear of their thieving or doing worſe Miſchiefs, obliges the Inhabitants of the Places to which they reſort, to drive them away by Force. A few *Moors* of Quality indeed do reſide in *Egypt*, and live there in Reputation and Splendor; becauſe as I ſhall hereafter ſhew, this is a ſort of Privileged Place, to which Men from all Countries retire to live at Eaſe on that Wealth which would be fatal to them elſewhere, and which is alſo ſometimes fatal to them here. All theſe *Moors* are alike zealous *Mohammedans*; and tho' in other Reſpects many of them are ignorant

ignorant to the laſt Degree, yet in reciting their Prayers injoined by their Law, they ſhew a Fire and Spirit of Devotion, which would be very edifying if it did not border a little on Enthuſiaſm. The *Franks* are as great Enemies to theſe People as the *Turks*, they ſpeak of them always as if they were the Dregs of all Mankind, and alike void of Senſe and Virtue; to make up theſe Deficiencies, they allow them Vices without Number, and yet when the Thing is candidly examined, it does not appear that theſe People are worſe than their Neighbours. Their extream Poverty tempts them to thieve, and the Severity with which they are uſed, extirpates in them that Compaſſion which uſually attends human Nature. But is this Matter of Reproach towards them, or ought it not rather to fall upon thoſe who hammer into them theſe baſe Notions by their bad Treatment?

MEN are pretty much alike in all Countries and in all Climates; it is the different Modes of governing, and various Ways of living, which make Men in one Place ſo unlike Men in another; and therefore in all Countries the Governors are reſponſible to reaſonable Men here, and to the God of Truth and Juſtice hereafter, for the epidemic Errors of their People. If thoſe who are entruſted with the Management of publick Affairs in *Egypt* would but think it incumbent on them to contrive proper Means for the ſupport of thoſe over whom they rule, theſe wretched *Moors* inſtead of being a Burthen and Diſgrace to this Country, as now they are, might be employed in repairing publick Works, which would not only reſtore the ancient Luſtre of *Egyptian* Magnificence, and exceedingly benefit all the Inhabitants of that vaſt Country, but alſo turn to the immenſe Profit

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of the *Grand Seignior*. This I am the rather perſuaded of, from the Behaviour of the *Moors* in the Service of my Patron *Haſſan*. They were moſt of them ſuch as he pick'd up in *Egypt*, and ſet to work as much out of Charity, as for the Sake of what they did for him. Theſe were all diligent, faithful, laborious Creatures, and in the Concerns I have had with any of that Nation, I have never been able to diſcover that the Prejudices againſt them were founded in any Thing but their Misfortunes, their extream Indigence, and their as extreme ill Uſage. I do confeſs that this Opinion is ſingular, but ſingular Opinions are not always groundleſs. Moſt Men judge by Experience, and believe themſelves juſtified in ſo judging; and therefore in following this Cuſtom, I rid myſelf of ſingularity, and go in the beaten Tract again.

Before I quit this Subject I cannot help taking Notice, that theſe *Moors*, who are thought to have ſcarce common Senſe in *Egypt*, are in their own Countries known to be as artful, and as cunning, as any People in the Univerſe. The Chriſtian Slave of *Haſſan*, who brought me firſt to his Maſter's Acquaintance, furniſh'd me with a Multitude of Inſtances in ſupport of what I have advanced, amongſt theſe I have ſelected *one*, which to me is not inferior to any Stratagem mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors.

MOHAMMED Almadi King of *Fez*, was a Prince who in his younger Years, either had or affected a ſtrong Paſſion for the Study of Divinity. The Aſcendancy he gained over the Minds of Men, by being believed to have more Religion than is uſually found in Heads covered with Crowns, enabled him to puſh

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Things further than moſt of his Predeceſſors; all his Clergy were devoted to his Intereſts, his Nobility ſtood in great Fear of him, and his People really believed that in him were united the Characters of Prince and Prophet. The Inhabitants of a Country lying to the South of his Dominions, had erected a kind of *Ariſtocratical* Common-wealth, under which they lived if not happily, at leaſt much better than any of their Neighbours, and the Report of their being a rich and opulent People, vehemently ſpurred *Almadi* to attempt the bringing them under his Government.

With this View he ſet a great Army on Foot, marched into the Frontiers of his Neighbours, began to take their ſtrong Places, and to ravage all the open Country. In vain the poor People oppoſed him, his Army was victorious in ſeveral Actions, tho' not without Loſs, and he ſeemed to be on the Point of compleating his Deſign, when he was informed, that the Enemy had drawn together an Army ſuperior to his own, in order to make their laſt Effort for the Preſervation of their Country. *Almadi* upon this, directed his March towards their Camp, and in a few Days a general Battle enſued, which for many Hours was fought with great Bravery and Reſolution on both Sides. At length the Army of the King of *Fez* was conſtrained to retire, leaving many thouſand dead Bodies on the Field of Battle.

Then it was that the Soldiers for the firſt Time ſhewed a Diſlike to their Prince's Conduct. They ſaid that he had led them far from their Families to periſh in a Foreign War, meerly to gratify his Ambition; that if as he pretended, he had undertaken this Expedition by

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the Command of God, they ſhould have been miraculouſly aſſiſted, or at leaſt they ſhould not have been beaten; and therefore they determined to compel him to retreat. *Almadi* having Intelligence of this mutinous Diſpoſition, ſent for a few of the Officers on whom he could depend, and having laid before them the Reaſons he had to believe that the Enemy was in a worſe Condition than they, he ſhewed them the Probability there was of perfecting the Conqueſt of this Country, if the Courage of his Soldiers could but be reſtored; and in order to this, he propoſed the following Expedient. That theſe Officers ſhould in the dead of the Night go and lay themſelves among the dead Men, from whence by the King's Orders they were to be brought off, and interr'd in certain Tombs which were in a Village hard by, and in which ſuch Holes were made as were ſufficient to furniſh them with Air.

THIS Propoſition being agreed to, and carried into Execution, *Almadi* aſſembled other Officers, of whoſe Fidelity he doubted, and having reproached them with want of Loyalty, and the injurious Things they had ſaid of him; he exhorted them to go to the Tombs of their Companions, and after recommending themſelves to Heaven by Prayer, to enquire of the deceaſed Captains, whether the Promiſes he had made them of Felicity in the other World, were not accompliſhed to the full. Theſe laſt mentioned Officers, in Purſuance of the King's Inſtructions went, accompanied with a great Company of Soldiers, where after ſolemn Prayer, they were ſurprized to hear the following Speech pronounced by a ſhrill Voice from one of the Tombs; *Fight valiantly my Brethren in the Cauſe of God and*

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the King, ſince all who fall therein paſs immediately to Paradiſe, and enjoy all the Bliſs promiſed by our Prophet, let their paſt Life be ever ſo wicked.

THE Troops inſpired with new Valour retired from the Tombs, and having encompaſſed the Tent of their Prince, promiſed him to follow him chearfully wherever he pleaſed to lead them. *Almadi* thanked them in a long and pious Speech, and as ſoon as he had diſmiſſed them, went with a few Attendants to the Tombs, where he cauſed all the Air Holes to be ſtopped up, ſuppoſing that thoſe who had ſerved him ſo faithfully when living, ought not to refuſe to die for him, when that alone was capable of furthering his Service. This I think is a ſufficient Proof, that if the *Moors* are as wicked as our *Europeans*, they are likewiſe as capable of being wicked to ſome Purpoſe, if the Purpoſes of the Great deſerve that Name.

THE *Arabs* in *Egypt* may be divided, as indeed they may be every where into two Claſſes. Such as live in Towns, and who differ little from the reſt of the *Egyptians*, and ſuch as live altogether in the Deſarts, and are properly ſpeaking *Bedoui* or *Arabi*, whom we call *Bedouins* and *Arabs*. As to thoſe whom the *Turks* call *Cara Arabi*, or *Black Arabs*, they are properly ſpeaking no *Arabs* at all, for by this Appellation they diſtinguiſh all ſuch as have a Duſkineſs or Darkneſs in their Complexion, ſuch as the Inhabitants of *Abyſſinia*, *Nubia*, and the lower *Ethiopia*. Moſt Travellers tell us, that the *Arabs* who inhabit Towns, are honeſter and more civilized than the wild *Arabs*, as they are pleaſed to call them, upon whom they beſtow all the villainous Epithets that a heated Imagination can ſuggeſt. Yet is all

this

this the Effect of downright Ignorance; for in Truth these civilized *Arabs* are so corrupted by living among the *Turks*, that it is not very safe to trust them, while on the other Hand, the free *Arabs* are not only a generous and polite People, but are above all Things remarkable for keeping their Faith, which they readily give to any Stranger who trusts them on his own Accord, and are never known to break it.

The Reason why most of the *Franks* entertain such wrong Notions of these People, is because they will not take the Pains, or as they call it, run the Hazard of being acquainted with them; they are pleased with the *Arabians* in Cities, because they have a frankness, and pleasantness in their Tempers, which is rarely met with in the *Turks*; they are prejudiced against the other *Arabs*, by seeing them frequently brought to *Cairo*, and other Places for robbing on the Highway, where they are constantly put to the most cruel Deaths, which they endure with what appears to be a brutal Obstinacy. All Nations like all private Men have their Faults, and as we are better acquainted with our Neighbour's Failings than with our own, so the Inhabitants of one Country decry another on Account of Customs they do not understand. Instead of doing this, a wise Man makes it his Business to enquire narrowly into these Customs; for whatever some People may think, Surprize is always the Child of Ignorance; if we know little, we are apt to be surprized at every Thing; but in Proportion as our Knowledge encreases, this Disposition wears off. In like manner young Horses are apt to start, but when they have been compelled by the Spur to approach the Objects of their Fear, they are cured

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of this Vice; so much more judicious are we in managing our Horses than our Children. But to return from this Digression.

As the *Arabs* believe themselves descended from *Ishmael*, they are extremely proud of their Nobility, looking down with Contempt on the *Turks*, whom they regard as a mixt People, and consequently of mean Birth, for the Purity of their Families is with them the Ground of Nobility. They are however so modest as to confess that they are not able to trace their Genealogies so high as this Father of their Race, but content themselves with deriving their Families from some of his Descendants. The whole Nation is divided into Tribes, and those again are subdivided into Families, each of which has a Chief. Their sole Profession is Arms, for they think it beneath them to exercise any manual Trades, whereas the *Sciences* they exceedingly affect, especially Rhetorick and Poesy. They seldom care to come into Cities, tho' sometimes they do upon the publick Faith; for the *Turks* and they live in continual Hostilities. These People, I mean the *Arabs*, look upon it as a Disgrace to die in their Beds, and this it is that makes them so fearless in their Expeditions. If they are made Prisoners they so much disdain the *Turks*, that they will not vouchsafe to speak; but sometimes when they come to suffer Death, which is generally the terrible one of impaling, they converse with each other on indifferent Things, and so yield up their Breath with a Constancy, of which it is impossible to give a proper Description. I do not say that this Behaviour is right or commendable, but I say it is Heroism, tho' built on false Principles; for to conserve the Abilities of the Mind in the

the midſt of Misfortunes and Pains, is the utmoſt Effect of human Courage, and is always admirable, let its Cauſe be what it will. For my own Part, the Courage of the *Arabs* appears more Heroic to me, than the Courage ſhewn by Chriſtians; becauſe the Principles upon which Chriſtians act are plain and ſimple, and provided they are truly Chriſtians, it is impoſſible that Death ſhould alarm them much; whereas the *Arabs* are generally governed by temporal Motives, which one would think ſhould render Life dearer to them than they do. But Cuſtom, Example, and above all the Exhortation of their Women, who place all the Merit of a Man in his Valour, brings them into ſuch a ſtubborn Habit of ſupporting Evil, that the Patience of an *Arab* is in Practice a great deal ſuperior to the Patience of a Stoic in Theory.

As to their Perſons, the *Arabs* are generally middle ſized thin Men, their Features regular, their Preſence noble and majeſtic, extremely nimble in their Motions, and the compleateſt Horſemen in the World. In their Tempers they are generally grave, generous, full of Ambition, amorous, prone to the occult Sciences, and fond of Poetry to exceſs, Magnificent in their Habits where they have it in their Power, but frugal beyond Belief in their manner of living, extremely tender of their Children, but too ſevere towards their Subjects and Slaves. I might extend this Character by digreſſing into a multitude of other Particulars, but I chuſe rather to paint the *Arabs* from the Life, and by relating Facts to raiſe an Idea nearer Truth than any Deſcription I can make would ever excite. The grand Characteriſtick of the Genius of the *Arabians* is a ſubtile Vivacity

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of Mind, of which the following Inſtance hath ſo charmed the oriental Nations, that it hath been made the Subject of two long Poems, and indeed it is extremely well choſen, inaſmuch as it unfolds exactly a Temper otherwiſe not eaſily repreſented.

THREE *Arabs*, Brethren of a noble Family, who were travelling together for the ſake of improving their Minds, were met by Accident by a *Camel Driver*, who aſked them, if they had not ſeen a Camel which had ſtrayed from him in the Night? *Was not the Camel blind of an Eye?* ſaid the eldeſt: *Yes*, ſaid the Man. *It had a Tooth out before*, ſaid the ſecond: *It is very true*, replyed the Man. *Was it not a little lame?* added the third: *Why really it was*, returned the Driver. The *Camel Driver* took it for granted that they had ſeen it; and therefore beſought them to tell him which Way it went. *Follow us Friend*, ſaid they; the Man did ſo. He had not gone far before he happened to ſay, that the *Camel was laden with Corn. And it had*, added the *Arabians*, *a Veſſel of Oil on one Side, and a Veſſel of Honey on the other: It had ſo*, ſaid the Man, *therefore let me conjure you to tell me where you met it. Met it*, replyed the eldeſt of the Brothers, *Why we never ſaw your Camel at all.* The Man loſing Patience at this, began to load them with Reproaches, and as they were paſſing through a Village raiſed the People upon them, and cauſed them to be apprehended. The Judge of the Village not being able to determine the Cauſe, ſent them to the Prince of the Country, who perceiving by their Behaviour that they were Perſons of Diſtinction, ſet them at Liberty, lodged them in his Palace, and treated them with all the Reſpect imaginable. After

ſome Days were over, he took an Opportunity to intreat them to clear up this Myſtery, by explaining to him how they could poſſibly hit upon ſo many Circumſtances without ever having ſeen the Camel. The young Men ſmiled at the importunity of the Prince, and after having returned him abundance of Thanks for the Civilities they had received, the eldeſt of them ſpoke thus: "*We are not either Deceivers or Necromancers,* "*we never ſaw the Man's Camel, nor did we uſe any* "*other Inſtruments of Divination than our Senſes and* "*our Reaſon. I for my Part judged it was blind, be-* "*cauſe I obſerved the Graſs eaten on one ſide of the* "*Road, and not on the other. I,* ſaid the ſecond, "*gueſſed it had loſt a Tooth before, becauſe where the* "*Graſs was cropt cloſeſt, there was conſtantly a little* "*Tuft left behind. And I,* added the third, *conceived it* "*was Lame, becauſe the Prints of three Feet were di-* "*ſtinct in the Road, whereas the Impreſſion of the fourth* "*was blurred; whence I concluded, that the Beaſt* "*dragged it, and did not ſet it to the Ground. All* "*this I apprehend,* ſaid the Prince, *but how in the Name* "*of Providence could you diſcover that Oil and Honey* "*made a part of its loading? Why,* returned the *Ara-* "*bians, we gueſſed this, becauſe on one ſide of the Road* "*we ſaw little Troops of Ants ferriting the Graſs, and* "*on the other we ſaw the Flies aſſembled here and there* "*in Groups, inſomuch that few or none were on the* "*Wing.*" Whether this Story be true or falſe matters not much, ſince it ſo exactly expreſſes what it was meant to expreſs, the quick and deep Penetration of the *Arabs.*

ALL their Sayings are ſtrongly impregnated with this ſort of Spirit; but it requires a kind of Enthuſiaſm to apprehend the force of them, for I have known *Europeans* of ſo phlegmatic a Temper, as to ſee nothing ſhining in their brighteſt Sayings. For Example, I heard a *German* Monk diſpute the Elegance of the *Arabian* Maxim, *That in* God *is the ſole Refuge from* God. By which they mean, that acquieſcing in his Will is the ſole Remedy againſt thoſe Evils, which through the Courſe of Providence fall upon us, and hurt us only by our Impatience, ſince they are always intended for our Good, either here or hereafter, which if we underſtood, they would be no Evils at all.

THEY are extremely diffident of the *Turks*, whom they look upon as the moſt perfidious People in the World, and alledge this as a juſt Cauſe why they are continually exerciſing their People in Excurſions, which very ſtrongly reſemble Robberies. During the Time I was in the upper *Egypt*, I had the following Story from the Mouth of the *Bey*, who tho' the Subject, was yet the implacable Enemy of the *Grand Seignior*. *Hamet* Prince of *Sait* was, in the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, the moſt powerful Lord in *Egypt*, and having a juſt Conception of the Maxims of the *Turkiſh* Government, ſent regularly the ſtipulated Tribute to *Cairo*, but would never be prevailed upon to go thither in Perſon, either by fair Means or foul. The Exploits he performed with great Bodies of Horſe, that were always at his Command againſt ſuch of his Neighbours as juſtly incurred his Reſentment, ſpread his Fame even as far as *Conſtantinople*, where it was reſolved, that he ſhould be taken off by ſome Means or other. The

Report of the *Baſſa* of *Cairo* demonſtrated that this could not be done by Force; and therefore it was made a ſtanding Inſtruction to all his Succeſſors, to allure *Hamèt* to *Cairo*, and there to ſecure his Perſon till the *Sultan*'s Pleaſure ſhould be farther known. Several Years were elapſed before this could be brought about. At laſt *Haſſan Baſſa*, a *Eunuch*, a Man of great Experience and Addreſs, by repeated Aſſurances of his Maſter's particular Reſpect and Favour towards this Prince, drew him to *Cairo*, attended by the *Baſſa*'s *Chiaja*, to do him the greater Honour. As they entered the Suburb *Bulack*, they ſaw a fine gilded Barge in the *Nile*, on Board which were many *Chiaux* eating and drinking, who as ſoon as they ſaw the *Bey*, ſent one of their Company to invite him to partake of their Repaſt. *Hamet* alighting from his Horſe, went on Board the Barge, but he was ſcarce ſate down to Meat, before thoſe who invited him ſeized his Arms and bound him; however before they could ſtop his Mouth, he cryed out to his People on Shore, and told them that he was betrayed. The *Arabs* were not above thirty in number, yet they plunged into the River to come to the Aſſiſtance of their Maſter. The *Turks* immediately iſſued from all the Poſts where they lay in Ambuſcade, but not Time enough to prevent the *Arabians* from delivering *Hamet*, and ſetting him on Horſeback. They made no Doubt of retaking him when he came on Shore; but they erred even in this, for he and his Attendants charged them ſo briſkly, that tho' they were ſeven hundred in number, yet the *Arabs* broke through and eſcaped into the Deſart, having ſlain fifty *Turks* in the Action. On his Return to *Sait*, the *Baſſa* ſent

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to compliment him, and to aſſure him that the Attempt was not made by his Order. *Hamet* anſwered, that he readily believed it was not, and that he had ſtill ſo great a Confidence in the *Baſſa*, as to rely upon his Intereſt for the Remiſſion of a third Part of his Tribute, which from this Time forward he reſerved for his own Uſe, and the *Turks* were very glad he exacted no dearer Satisfaction; becauſe all the *Arabs* in *Egypt* ſeemed inclined to reſent the Affront, which if they had done, the *Bey* might have brought a hundred thouſand Horſe into the Field; but he revenged himſelf with leſs Hazard.

Horses are the great Riches, and almoſt the ſole Inſtruments of Power which theſe *Arab* Princes poſſeſs. Of theſe they have Numbers in their Stables, all of them of great Value, and I was going to ſay, of great Quality alſo. The *Arabians* as they pique themſelves on their own Nobility, ſo they are no leſs jealous of the Deſcent of their Horſes, whoſe Genealogies they keep as exactly as their own; nor is a Horſe ever parted with without giving at the ſame Time an authentick Certificate of his Pedigree. The true *Arab* Courſers are not ſo beautiful to the Eye as the Horſes bred in *Egypt*, but they are ſtronger, and of more Mettle. However the *Egyptian* Horſes are very ſerviceable, and there need not be either for Shew or Uſe better Cavalry than the Troops in this Country, if the Men were as capable of Diſcipline as the Horſes. The great Excellency of the *Arabs* lies in their Retreats, which they perform with ſuch incredible Speed, and puſh their Horſes up ſuch Hills, and through ſuch Woods and Moraſſes, as ſets them quickly without the Reach of any Enemy, and

as they never fly through Fear, gives them an Opportunity of conſidering how they ſhall next attack the Enemy, or provide for their ſafe Return into their own Territories. Their Horſes as well as themſelves bear not only Fatigue but Want alſo, with incredible Fortitude. Next to their Horſes, their Wealth conſiſts in Camels, which they make Uſe of to tranſport their Women, Children and Baggage, from Place to Place. Theſe Creatures too are wonderful hardy, inſomuch, that they will bear five Days want of Water very well, as the Horſes will three. To enter farther into the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Arabs*, would carry me into too long a Digreſſion, eſpecially, as I conſider them only as ſettled in *Egypt*; and therefore I ſhall turn from them to the *Turks*.

In order to have a diſtinct Idea of the *Turks* ſettled in *Egypt*, it is neceſſary to divide them into three ſorts. The firſt conſiſts of ſuch Perſons as having either ſuffer'd Diſgrace at Court, or finding themſelves without Imployment on the Death of an Emperor, withdraw themſelves into this Country to live at their Eaſe. Of theſe there are a conſiderable Number who enjoy in this delicious Kingdom all the Pleaſures which Men of their Diſpoſitions affect moſt, ſuch as rich Habits, fine Houſes, a great number of Slaves, and above all a *Serail* well filled with Women. What is moſt extraordinary is the number of *Eunuchs* who are ſettled here, who in all other Reſpects do not only ſupport the Dignity of Men once eminent in Courts, but alſo in Women, are more nice, have greater Variety of Miſtreſſes, and part more freely with Money for handſome Women, than any other Perſons whatſoever: For this I have heard

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no good Reaſon aſſigned; and therefore I will not pretend to give any, much leſs my own Conjectures, which have at various Times been ſo different and ſo unſatisfactory, that I did not think them any way worthy of Preſervation.

THE ſecond ſort of *Turks* are ſuch as come hither in ſome ſort of Office or other, and theſe Lord it over all the reſt of the People, with a Haughtineſs mixt with ſuch Meanneſs and Avarice, as will be made ſufficiently apparent when I come to ſpeak of the Government of *Egypt*. Theſe ſort of Folks are in general very rich; for having it in their Power to extort what they pleaſe, and in their Will not to leave an *Aſper* untaken which can be poſſibly got, having daily Preſents from ſuch as need their Favour, and ſeizing too frequently on the Goods of ſuch as want Intereſt to ſupport them againſt theſe Violences, we may eaſily conceive, that while the rich Commodities of this noble Country bring into it immenſe Sums from all Quarters, theſe Men have a very large Share.

THE third ſort of *Turks* are the Deſcendants of both the former ſorts, but they live in a very different manner; for whereas thoſe I mentioned before enjoy Wealth and Authority in abundance, theſe ſeldom arrive at any Share of either, but are treated with Contempt as *Felacs* or Natives, only they are allowed to enter into the Service, where they remain private Men to their Lives End, ſo unfortunate a Thing it is to be born in that Country, wherein, notwithſtanding, the *Turks* deſire moſt of all to live.

AS to the Manners of this Nation, they are far from being ſo amiable as ſome Chriſtian Writers would

repreſent them; Haughtineſs and Vanity are inſeperable from their Nature; proud of their Dominion, they look down with Contempt on their unhappy Subjects; inſolent when they act from the Dictates of their Heart, ſuperciliouſly courteous when they have it in view to deceive or work upon a Stranger, oſtentatiouſly fond of their Religion, exact in their Obedience to ſuch Precepts as regard exterior Things, but ſeldom very cautious in reſpect to Actions which concern their Neighbours, either in their Perſons or their Properties; profuſe in Promiſes of Friendſhip, but ſparing in the Performance of them; abandoned to Senſuality, and wholly devoted to Self-Intereſt. It is true, that ſome by the Help of Learning and Converſation get the better of their evil Inclinations, and thereby maintain as well as acquire the Character of honeſt Men; but the Character of the Nation is taken from the many not from the few, and therefore it is ſufficient to acknowledge that in this as well as in other general Deſcriptions, we muſt ſometimes allow of Exceptions.

As to the *Franks* or *European* Chriſtians in *Egypt*, they are for the moſt part *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Italians*. Such as reſide conſtantly, are under the Protection of their reſpective Conſuls; and ſuch as come meerly to ſatisfy their Curioſity, are not only recommended to the Conſuls, but generally alſo to ſome particular Merchant, that they may be the more at their Eaſe, and have the greater leiſure to purſue the Inquiries they come to make. As to the Trade of *Egypt*, the manner in which it is at preſent carried on, the Improvements of which it is capable, and eſpecially the very great one of purchaſing *Eaſt-India* Goods by Exchange

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for our own Commodities, whereas we ſend Silver to the *Indies*; concerning all theſe things I have elſewhere ſpoken at large; and therefore I ſhall only throw together ſome ſcattered Thoughts on the Conduct of *Europeans*, and which could not ſo properly come in, in another Place.

I have always obſerved that the Subjects of the State of *Veniſe*, and other *Italians*, manage their Affairs more to their own Profit, and much more to their Credit, than the other Merchants who live there, though the latter have in many Reſpects the Advantage of the former. Of this I conceive the chief Reaſon to be that Sobriety ſo natural to the Natives of *Italy*, Vigilance, Penetration and Civility; for all theſe Qualities they poſſeſs in a ſupreme Degree. The becoming Gravity of their Behaviour ſuits ſo well the affected Solemnity of the *Turks*, that they look upon them as wiſer than other Chriſtians, and therefore adviſe with, and confide in them more than the reſt. Their conſtant Attention to the Buſineſs upon which they come, keeps their Affairs in a clearer and more certain Courſe, than can be well imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen them. The Pains they take to examine more curiouſly, the Commodities in which they deal and the Methods of Trade and Manufactures amongſt the Natives, than is common with the Merchants of other Countries, gives them great Superiority of Judgment, which they never boaſt of, though they neglect no Occaſion of uſing it. Their Addreſs is ſo courtly, and at the ſame Time hath ſuch an Appearance of Candour, they are ſo nice in all Things which reſpect good Manners, and ſo punctual in all Offices of Friendſhip, that the politeſt and moſt ſenſible of the *French* and *Engliſh* converſe more with them than with their

their own Countrymen. To ſay the Truth, we have borrowed from the *Italians* all that we know of Trade, as our Books of Account teſtify, and the Terms made uſe of by the Merchants of *England*, *Germany*, and *Holland*. It would be well if we could borrow alſo when we go abroad their Manners and their Virtues; I ſay nothing of their Vices, becauſe thoſe we are apt enough to ſteal, and by affecting their Foibles and ill Qualities, prejudice our Countrymen againſt their good ones.

THE Proteſtants take little Pains to propagate their Religion in *Mohammedan* Countries; and as to the Popiſh Miſſionaries, whatever they may pretend, all their Efforts produce but little Fruits; for which I pretend not to aſſign the Reaſons, only I think it would contribute to their Succeſs, if their Prieſts did not meddle with temporal Concerns, or endeavour, as they frequently do, to promote other Intereſts than thoſe of Religion: If they applied themſelves more to the Learned, than they commonly do, becauſe all who are acquainted with the Oriental Countries know that there are Philoſophers there, as well as in other Parts of the World; and that many of theſe far from being prejudiced againſt the Chriſtian Religion, are ſtrongly inclined in its Favour, not from any exterior Impreſſions, but through the Effects of their own Reading and Obſervation: If they inſiſted more on the fundamental Points of the Chriſtian Religion, ſuch as the Nature of CHRIST's Miſſion, the perfect and eternal Rectitude of the Maxims of the Chriſtian Faith, the clear Proofs that ſtill remain of theſe Points being revealed by God, the ſuperior Purity of the Goſpel-Morality to that of the *Jewiſh* and *Mohammedan* Syſtem, the perfect Conformity between the Doctrines of CHRIST

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and the Dictates of right Reaſon; and above all, the Peace, Comfort, and Tranquillity reſulting from a Life led according to theſe Rules. If the leſs important Matters, and eſpecially ſuch as Difference one Chriſtian Church from another, were never mentioned, it would not be the worſe. And as to Popiſh Doctrines, they ought in common Prudence not to be taken notice of even by Papiſts, ſince they ſerve only to rivet theſe *Mohammedans* in their old Notions, for they will not be brought to apprehend why they ſhould worſhip the Saints of other Countries, rather than their own. They think their own Fables about a middle State, as worthy of Belief as the Tales they hear about Purgatory. And as to the Authority of the *Pope*, they are frighted at the very Apprehenſion of it, believing his Claims to be much the ſame with thoſe of their ancient *Caliphs*, on a Title far leſs clear. But of theſe Matters enough; let me now return to the Hiſtory of the *Mohammedan* Natives of this Country, their Religion, Government, and Learning, which when I have explained, I ſhall take my Leave of them, as having many other Subjects to conſider.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that barely travelling through Countries inhabited by *Mohammedans*, ſhould render a Man perfectly ſkill'd in the Theory and Practice of their Religion; becauſe we ſee plainly that travelling through *France* and *Italy*, doth not neceſſarily produce any competent Knowledge of the Sects, Religious Orders, or different Opinions in Religion embraced by the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries. I ſay we ſee that bare Travelling produces nothing like this, but when joined with Reading, Obſervation, and Enquiry, it may. On this Ground I preſume

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to ſpeak of the Religion of *Mohammed*, having not only talked of it with thoſe who profeſſed it, but having alſo read the Book of its Author, and conſidered the Drift of his Deſign as impartially as I believe ever any Chriſtian did; and on this Account it is very probable that what I ſhall ſay on this Subject, will not be altogether ſo reconcileable to what has been ſaid about it already, as might be expected; but if it be not irreconcileable with Truth, differing from other Men will not give me much Concern.

WE are told by *Schariſtani*, a very eminent *Arabian* Writer, that the Angel *Gabriel* appeared once to *Mohammed* in the Form of an *Arabian*, and beſought him to declare in few Words what the Precepts were of that Religion which he pretended to deliver to the World; to which *Mohammed* anſwered thus, "It conſiſts in "confeſſing that there is but one God, and in owning "me for his Meſſenger; in fulfilling punctually the "Precepts relating to Prayer, in giving Alms, in faſting "during the Month of *Ramedan*, and, if it may be "conveniently done, going in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*." It muſt be acknowledged, that this is a very ſuccinct, and at the ſame time a very exact Account of the Religion of *Mohammed*. The Belief of the firſt Propoſition, and paying an exact Obedience to the other four Precepts, is all that is required to conſtitute a good *Muſſulman*; but of theſe more particularly.

THE ſole Article of Faith required by this Religion *is believing in one* God *only, and that* Mohammed *is his Meſſenger*. At firſt Sight there ſeems to be two Propoſitions contained in this Sentence, *viz. that there is one* God, *and that* Mohammed *is his Prophet*. The Learned

ed among the *Arabs*, however, will not ſuffer this Diſtinction, and therefore we muſt hear how they explain it. God, ſay they, at all times hath preſerved to himſelf a certain Number of true and faithful Servants, who have worſhipped him as he ought to be worſhipped, whilſt the reſt of Mankind walked in Darkneſs, and adored the Chimera's of their own diſtracted Imaginations. The Method by which God preſerved his Beloved in the true Faith, was by ſending them from Time to Time, Prophets to reveal to them his Will, and to expoſe ſuch Errors as might by degrees creep in amongſt them. At laſt, ſay they, he ſent *Iſa*, or JESUS, whom, as I have elſewhere ſhewn, the *Mohammedans* acknowledge to have been above all Prophets, who taught Men their Duty on Earth, and on what Terms they might hope to enter the Kingdom of Heaven; but in Proceſs of Time the Chriſtians ſuffering themſelves to be miſled by their Doctors, and giving generally into the Belief of the Trinity, (of which by the way the *Mohammedans* have very abſurd Ideas) *Mohammed* was ſent to revive the true Faith, by teaching, that there is but *one* God, *unalterable*, and *indiviſible* in *Eſſence*, *unbegotten*, and *unbegetting*. Therefore, ſay they, believing *in one God*, and that *Mohammed* is his Meſſenger, is one and the ſame Propoſition, becauſe the *Unity* of the *Godhead* was the Meſſage given to *Mohammed*, or in other Words, the Cauſe of his Miſſion.

HERBIN lies the great Strength of this Religion, and, without Queſtion, nothing hath ſo much aſſiſted its Propagation as the great Merit which its Propagators always take to themſelves of being the ſole Aſſertors of the *Unity* of the *Godhead*; whereas the Chriſtians, according to them, give him for *Partners* in *Power*, I uſe their

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own Expreſſion, the *Son* and the Virgin *Mary*, for this is their general Notion of the *Trinity*. It muſt be owned, that they have made a very good Uſe of their obſtinate Ignorance as to the Principles of other People's Religion. They alledge, that the *Magians* worſhip the Fire, and that the *Zabians* adore the Stars; though neither of theſe Nations do ſo, nor ever did, in the Senſe the *Mohammedans* underſtand this Poſition. But as theſe are Foils which make their own Faith ſhine the brighter, they will not ſuffer them to be taken away, but treat *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Perſees*, with the common Title of *Infidel*, though they all worſhip *one* God, as well as the Diſciples of *Mohammed*.

THE Notions we have in *Europe*, that this Man was of mean Origin, void of Literature, and of groſs Underſtanding, are utterly void of Foundation. The *Arabs*, as I have elſewhere ſaid, are divided into Tribes; ſome more, ſome leſs noble, according to their Antiquity. Now *Mohammed* ſprung from the *Coraiſhites*, the moſt noble of them all. That his Circumſtances were mean is true; but thoſe who are acquainted with the *Arabian* Hiſtory know that this was not Matter of Reproach in the Times in which he lived; on the contrary, the ſupporting of Poverty was with them a Mark of Magnanimity; and the two firſt *Caliphs* lived as poorly in all Reſpects as *Mohammed* himſelf, though they commanded vaſt Armies, and were Lords of great Provinces. As to his Genius, it was indiſputable, vaſt and enterprifing; and he was ſo far from being a rude and artleſs Perſon, that he was a Man of great Addreſs, and one of the moſt powerful Speakers of his Time. It is true, that he calls himſelf a *ſimple*, or *idiot Prophet*, and

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that his Followers inſiſt much upon this, but to what Purpoſe? Why, that they may make his mighty Gifts the pure Effects of Inſpiration. But if this ſerves their Purpoſe, and they therefore make it an Article of their Faith, how are we obliged to believe it too? Or why ſhould we not rather ſay that *Mohammed* having great natural and acquired Abilities, applied theſe to the framing of that Syſtem which he impoſed upon his leſs intelligent Countrymen for a divine Revelation? Sure I am, that this is a more rational Account of the Matter than that which is uſually given, nor can I be brought to believe that the Structure or Succeſs of his Scheme is ſo very aſtoniſhing as we generally conceive it.

FOR firſt, as to the Materials from which his Syſtem was compoſed, they were eaſily collected by a Perſon who had ſpent his junior Years as *Mohammed* had done, in travelling and converſing with all Sorts and Degrees of People. He had by this Means the beſt Opportunity in the World for enquiring without the Cauſe of his Enquiry's being gueſſed at. Strangers are naturally inquiſitive, and no-body ſuſpects that a Stranger will turn Prophet; he might therefore proſecute with Eaſe whatever Diſcoveries he deſired to make among the *Arabians*, *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, with all of whom it is known that he had an intimate Correſpondence. But if he had not, he might have had all he knew from the *Arabians* only; ſince at the Time he ſet himſelf up for a Prophet, ſome of the Tribes of that Nation were of the *Jewiſh*, ſome of the Chriſtian Religion, but Hereticks; ſome of the *Perſian* or *Magian* Faith, and others *Gentiles*. Out of all theſe Syſtems he might and did collect the Subſtance of his own. Circumciſion was a Rite univerſally uſed

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in *Arabia*; this therefore he retained. All the hiſtorical Part of the Old Teſtament, which came to his Knowledge, he digeſted into his own Book, and thereby declared it ſacred in his Opinion: Of CHRIST he ſpoke reſpectfully, but in the Language of a *Photinian*: And as to the Ceremonies which he eſtabliſhed, either by his Writing or Practice, they were conformable enough to thoſe uſed by the *Perſians*, and *Gentiles*, eſpecially thoſe who worſhipped at *Mecca*. So much for the Matter of his Religion.

Now as to the Manner in which he publiſhed, and by which he propagated it: It was ſo far from being without Example, that he had a very recent one, *viz.* that of *Mazdek*, the *Perſian* Impoſtor, who either lived in, or but a very little before his Time. This Man, by brewing together *Magiiſm*, *Manicheiſm*, and *Libertiniſm*, produced an excellent new Religion, the Purity of which, amongſt other Things, conſiſted in an abſolute Community of Women, and an equal Diſtribution of Effects. This Prophet had not only the good Luck to find a Multitude of Followers, but alſo to miſlead the King of *Perſia*, and in a few Years made greater Strides than *Mohammed* did in all his Life. This Fellow too was but a Copyiſt after *Manes*, the famous Heretick, and therefore why *Mohammed*, who lived under the ſame King who put *Mazdek* to Death, ſhould be held ſo potent in Invention, for playing his Tricks over again, I profeſs I cannot apprehend; nor do I ſee any thing incredible or unaccountable in what he performed, much leſs in what was performed by his Succeſſors. For if he was a Hypocrite, They were but Enthuſiaſts; and that ſuch Men at the Head of many Thouſands like themſelves

ſelves ſhould be too hard for other People, is no ſtranger than that Madmen ſhould be too hard for Folks in their Senſes, becauſe the latter can never ſuſpect to what Lengths the former will go. Thus I am come back to the Point from whence I ſet out; for it is certain that the Secret of *Mohammed* lay in perſuading his Followers, that they were the true and only Worſhippers of the Almighty, and conſequently all the reſt of Mankind his Enemies as well as theirs; the fitteſt Doctrine imaginable for a Man who meant to argue as he did by the Sword, and to purchaſe *Dominion* in Right of *Grace*.

PREVIOUS to my Explication of the reſt of the Precepts, I muſt ſpeak of Waſhings, or Ablutions, which ſome call the firſt of the five Points which conſtitute a *Muſſulman*; yet I think improperly, becauſe they were not ſuperinduced by *Mohammed*, but were practiſed by his Countrymen long before his Time. Theſe Waſhings are of three Sorts, the firſt preparatory to their Prayers, which is called *Abdeſt*, which I have Reaſon to think is an old *Perſic* Word, and that the Ceremonies they uſe on this Occaſion were originally borrowed from the *Perſees*. However, be that as it will, their Method of performing them is this, They firſt waſh their Hands and Arms, then the Neck, the Forehead, the Crown of the Head, the Ears, the Teeth, the Face, under the Noſe, and their Feet; but if either the Place or the Weather permit not this without great Inconveniency, then they content themſelves with making a Semblance of doing ſo. The ſecond Sort of Ablution is that performed after a Man hath converſed with a Woman; and this is no more than Bathing, called *Guſur*. The third kind of Ablution is called *Taharet*, and is performed be-

fore Eating and after Evacuation. In all theſe they are very ſtrict, ſeldom if ever neglecting them where it is poſſible for them to be performed.

As to their ſtated Prayers, they are performed five Times in twenty-four Hours. The firſt Time of Praying is between Day-break and Sun-riſe. The ſecond at Noon. The third at the middle Hour, between Noon and Sun-ſet. The fourth at Sun-ſet. And the fifth, an Hour and a half in the Night. They uſe abundance of Geſtures in their Devotions, and are ſo very fervent in them, that if a Fire ſhould break out in the Room, they will not break off. They are not tyed to exact Forms of Prayer, though the Heads or Subſtance of their Prayers are ſettled, and the People in general uſe Forms. One Thing is remarkable, that in the Grand Signior's Dominions they not only pray for his Health and Proſperity, but alſo that God would be pleaſed to ſend a Spirit of Diſcord and Diſſenſion among his Enemies, to which they attribute all the Diſſenſions and Wars amongſt the Chriſtians, which it muſt be allowed are agreeable to, though to be ſure they are not effected by their Petitions. They are ſo preciſe in this Article of Prayer, that if by any Accident they are diſturbed therein ſo far as to wander in their Thoughts, they begin again, ſuppoſing that the ſmalleſt Abſence of Mind abrogates all the Petitions they have made. Hence ſneezing, or rubbing the Hand or the Neck where a Flea has bit, or turning the Head on a ſudden Noiſe, vacates the Prayers that have been ſaid before, and the Perſon to whom ſuch an Accident has happened is obliged to begin again. They are no leſs exact as to the Time of praying, for wherever they are, in the Street, in the Market,

or on the Road, they ſtop to offer their Devotions, and omit none of the Ceremonies uſual in Praying on Account of their being in a Publick Place.

THE third Point is *Alms*, which they call *Zacah*, a Word derived from a Verb, ſignifying to purify, becauſe, according to their Notion, a Man's Subſtance is purified by giving Alms out of it to the Poor. There is nothing of which we have ſo indefinite a Notion as of the Meaſure or Proportion by which, according to their Law, the *Mohammedans* are obliged to give Alms. Some of our Writers ſpeak of a tenth, others ſay a hundredth Part. The Truth is, that they are commanded to give different Porportions of different Sorts of Goods, and are over and above charged to regard no Bounds in their Liberalities to the Poor. Hence it comes to paſs, that many give the Third of what they are worth; many a Fourth; ſome have given half of what they were worth, once in their Life-time; and there have been Inſtances of Men who have given all their Fortunes to the Poor, and liv'd ever after upon Alms themſelves. To ſay the Truth, there are no People in the World among whom Poverty is ſo honourable as among the *Mohammedans*, who have a common Saying, *That the Fear of Want is a Mark of the Judgment of* GOD. They likewiſe ſay of a Perſon who makes a voluntary Profeſſion of Poverty, that as he poſſeſſes nothing, he is poſſeſſed by nothing, by which they mean to ſuggeſt, that in the midſt of his Poverty he is Maſter of the World, by reaſon of that Detachment from carnal Deſires which he enjoys by Virtue of his Profeſſion, which Deſires, in their Opinion, make all other Men Slaves.

THE fourth Point is the keeping the Faſt of *Rammadan*. This is no more than the Name of the *ninth Month* of the *Arab Year*. Anciently this always fell in Summer, but now, ſince the *Arab Year* is become perfectly lunar, it ſhifts and varies, and falls out in all Seaſons. The Rule in Faſting is this: A Believer muſt not eat, drink, or converſe with his Wife from the Time that the Sun riſes, till ſuch Time as the Stars appear, or the Lamps are hung out upon the Moſques, which is done during this Month, that the People may the better know when to take their Repaſts. Of ſuch indiſpenſible Obligation is this Command held, that if a Man ſhould openly break it, he would be puniſhed with Death; neither are Travellers, ſick or wounded Perſons, exempt therefrom; but in caſe their Neceſſities oblige them to eat within that Month, then they are obliged to faſt another entire Month in the Year to attone for it. Yet as there are among the *Mohammedans*, as well as amongſt Chriſtians, very many who deſire to avoid ſuch rigorous Reſtraints, they have found an eaſy Method of doing it without violating the Letter, and thereby expoſing themſelves to the ſecular Arm. They eat and drink plentifully in the Night, and divert themſelves therein every other Way, going to bed as the Morning draws on, and ſleeping the greateſt Part of the Day. This is a *Turkiſh* Invention, and exceedingly abhorr'd by the ſober Part of thoſe who profeſs the *Religion* of *Mohammed*.

THE fifth Point, requiſite to conſtitute a true Believer, according to the Doctrine of their Prophet, is the *Pilgrimage* to *Mecca*, which every Man who is free, and hath ſufficient Ability, that is in reſpect to Riches, is commanded to undertake once in his Life. It is eaſy enough

enough to account for this Injunction, which certainly had no other than theſe two Motives. Firſt, the Love which *Mohammed* bore to the Place of his Birth. And Secondly, the Deſire he had to gratify his Countrymen the *Arabians* in their extraordinary Fondneſs for the *Square Temple* at *Mecca*. This holy Place, which the *Arabs* call *Cabah*, was certainly a very antient Structure, and had ſerved for the chief Place of Worſhip for all the ſeveral Religions, or rather Superſtitions, which in a long Succeſſion of Ages had been embraced by this Nation; in the Inſide thereof there was a *black Stone*, and *two* Golden Images, which were preſented, as ſome Writers ſay, by a King of *Perſia*, and as others ſay, by an *Arab* Prince. Theſe were both Objects of high Veneration, tho' I dare not ſay of idolatrous Worſhip, becauſe it is with me a great Doubt, whether ever theſe *Eaſtern* People were, in the proper Senſe of the Word, Idolaters; for if they worſhipp'd the heavenly Bodies, or any Teleſmetick Images, as Repreſentations of the ſupreme God of Heaven and Earth, then I am afraid we muſt exempt them from the Imputation of *Idolatry*, or extend that Term ſo as to take in ſome who look upon themſelves to be the only good Chriſtians.

THE *Mohammedans* tell us a very notable Story concerning the Building, Conſecration, and Holineſs of this fame Temple. In the firſt Place, they are poſitive that *Hagar* was not the Concubine, but the Wife of *Abraham*, and dearly beloved by him: They acknowledge, however, her Flight into the *Deſert*, with her Son *Iſhmael*; and they affirm, that it was in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca* they fixed themſelves after their Flight. Here

Abraham came to visit his Son; and that he might have an Oratory wherein to offer his Prayers to God, he counselled him to build this Square Temple, and assisted him in the Work. It was as it still is, a very rude and contemptible Structure, standing due East and West. And though it is called a Square, yet its Length is four and twenty Ells, and its Breadth from North to South but twenty-three. In this Temple *Abraham* placed the mysterious black Stone whereon it is said he found *Hagar* sitting when he first embraced her; and having established his eldest Son *Ishmael* in the firm Possession of *Arabia*, fixed this Place for the Worship of the true GOD, whence, say they, it came to be reverenced by the Dependants of *Ishmael*, and to be held the most noble and valuable Part of their Possessions.

IN Process of Time, however, they were deprived of it, and it passed into the Hands of another Tribe. The *Ishmaelites* kept up their Claim, and at last, by Force, re-acquired the Protection of this holy Place. The Enemy, however, carried off the black Stone and Golden Images, and threw them into the Pit *Zemzem*, where they remained for a long Series of Ages, but at last were discovered by the Grandfather of *Mohammed*, who had for that Purpose an express Revelation from Heaven, as he very positively affirmed; so that *Mohammed* was not the first of his Family who took upon him the Character of a Prophet. The Religion of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* attempted to set up himself for a Person divinely inspired was Deism corrupted, that is, mingled with heathenish and Pagan Rites, of which, however, the *Cabah* was the Centre. Thither the People resorted to worship, and there they did Worship

with

with great Formality, and with Abundance of Oſtentatious Ceremonies, moſt of which *Mohammed* preſerved, and brought into his Religion, obliging the People who profeſſed it not only to this Pilgrimage, but alſo to turn their Faces towards it, that is, towards the Point of the Compaſs regarding it, as often as they pray'd, in what Part of the World ſoever they were. This Honour was by no Means of *Mohammed*'s Invention, but taken from the Practice of the *Jews* and *Perſians*, who were wont to turn their Faces when they worſhipped, the one to the *Eaſt*, and the other to the *Weſt*, which Ceremony is in *Arabick* ſtiled, *Al. Keblah*, and is one of the main Points of Diſtinction in the Religions of the *Eaſt*. Thus much for the Reaſons inducing *Mohammed* to ſtamp ſuch extraordinary Marks of Reſpect on the City and Temple of *Mecca*.

Let us now return to the Pilgrimage, which, as an eſſential Point of their Religion, is punctually comply'd with by the *Mohammedans* of *Aſia* and *Africk*. Such as come from the middle Provinces of the Grand Signior's Dominions, aſſemble at *Damaſcus*, the *Perſian* Pilgrims at *Babylon*; thoſe from *Africk*, at *Cairo*. They draw, however, All into one Body, on a certain Mountain near that City, to which they go in ſolemn Proceſſion, leaving behind them their Chriſtian Slaves, leſt they ſhould polute this *Holy Place*.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in this, as well as in other Things, the wiſer *Mohammedans* have Notions far enough removed from thoſe of the People; for Inſtance, though they look upon the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* as a Point of indiſpenſible Neceſſity, yet they ſtick not to ſpiritualize it, and to affirm, their Prophet inſtituted

ſt, to put them in mind, that Life itſelf is but a Pilgrimage, wherein we ought always to have our immortal State in View, which they conceive to be figured by the Holy Temple at *Mecca*, and therefore they do not place the Efficacy of this Pilgrimage in barely travelling ſo far, in kiſſing as they are wont to do the black Stone, or in performing the other Ceremonies annexed to that Act of Devotion, but in performing all this with a right Mind, that is, with a penitent Heart, and a juſt Senſe of the Contemptibleneſs of carnal Things, compared with thoſe ſpiritual and eternal. Thus I finiſh my Commentary on the five Points of the Law of *Mohammed*, which I hope ſufficiently demonſtrates that they are not either ſo crude and ſo abſurd as ſome Men would make them, or ſo politick, ſo refined, ſo perfectly of the Prophet's Invention as they are made to be by others, but of a mixt Nature, and ſuch as a wiſe Man will behold without Contempt or Admiration.

I HAVE heard it often alledged, both in *England* and in *Italy*, that the *Mohammedans* were more united in their Sentiments, and more conſtant in the Profeſſion of their Faith than Chriſtians; but this I am very confident is ſaid without the leaſt Foundation. I cannot indeed affirm, that the Controverſies among them are more in Number than amongſt us; but I can truly ſay, that I believe it impoſſible to compute the Number of Controverſies amongſt either. In all Revealed Religion there are many things hard to be underſtood; and indeed there muſt be ſo, for if they were ſelf-evident, they could not be the Subject of Divine Revelation; and theſe Points are alike Grounds of Debate amongſt *Mohammedans* as well as *Chriſtians*. For example, the Queſtions

Queſtions relating to *Predeſtination* and *free Grace* have been agitated among the *Arab* Doctors, with as much Heat and Vehemence as ever they were in *Chriſtendom*. If we have *Pietiſts*, or Profeſſors of myſtical Divinity, ſo have they; nor have there been wanting *Mohammedan Quakers*, who ſuppoſing themſelves above all Ordinances, have acted according to the Dictates of what they call the Spirit, and have been looked upon by Men of Underſtanding, as a ſort of *grave Infidels*.

MANY of the beſt *Perſian* and *Arabian* Poets have been ſuſpected of *Chriſtianiſm*, and many more of *Atheiſm*; but the common Name for impious Perſons is *Zendik*, which I take it ſtrictly belongs to thoſe who aſſert the Eternity of the World, and are properly ſpeaking *Materialiſts* or *Naturaliſts*. Such as exclude all Ideas of ſpiritual Subſtance, and conceive that all Beings whatſoever have an innate Power of producing what we ſee them produce, without deriving it from any other. Tho' there are many who are ſecretly in theſe Sentiments, yet there are a very few only, who either privately or publickly acknowledge any Thing like them. The Reaſon is, becauſe the Government would ſpeedily take Notice of it; for the *Turks* judge rightly, that ſuch Men as are looſe in Principles of Religion, are not faſt Friends or good Subjects to any Government whatever. Among the *Arabs* a ſort of enthuſiaſtic Piety prevails, and thoſe who are perfectly acquainted with their Language, are extremely edified with this Spirit and Fervour of their Devotions. But the moſt rational Books of Devotion have been written by *Perſians* who have a more calm and courtly Stile, and leſs of that ecſtatic Rapture which is ſo productive of Obſcu-

rit

rity. On the whole, tho' the Religion of *Mohammed* rather declines than increaſes, yet it ſtill poſſeſſes the beſt Part of the habitable World, under the four great Empires of the *Grand Seignior*, the *Shah* of *Perſia*, the *Great Mogul*, and the Emperor of *Morocco*, beſides the numberleſs petty Princes in *Arabia*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the inland Parts of *Africa*. I have now fulfilled all that I propoſed to myſelf to ſay on the Head of Religion, and ſhall turn next to the Government of *Egypt*, eſpecially as it ſtands at this Day.

I HAD ſome Thoughts of writing a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the ſucceſſive Changes in Government which have happened in *Egypt*, from the Time it was firſt peopled, to the Conqueſt thereof by *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks*; but having never had Time enough to compare and tranſlate the Materials neceſſary for ſuch a Work, I contented myſelf with throwing together ſome Obſervations on the different Maſters of *Alexandria*, which I have elſewhere inſerted in theſe Memoirs, and ſhall here confine myſelf to the preſent State of *Egypt*, under the *Turkiſh* Government. Previous however to this, I will ſet down ſomething concerning the *Mamalukes*; becauſe from what I have read in our *European* Hiſtorians, I have been induced to think, that we have very confuſed, if not falſe Notions concerning this People.

THE Word *Mamlouck*, for ſo it ought to be ſpelt, ſignifies a *Slave*, the Plural of this is *Memalik*, or *Slaves*, and this is the proper Appellation of the People of whom we are ſpeaking. They were truly ſuch, but not *Chriſtian*, or born of Chriſtian Parents, as we have been made to believe; on the contrary, the *Tartars* were at that Time ſo powerful as to ravage all *Aſia*, and

theſe

theſe poor Creatures were ſtrong able bodyed *Turks*, whom they ſeized and ſold to *Al Malek Ajoub* Sultan of *Egypt*. He made uſe of them at firſt to guard the outer Courts of his Palace, and as their Numbers, and the Reputation of their Fidelity encreaſed, he not only fixed them in *Cairo*, but alſo placed Garriſons of them in moſt of his Maritime Places. He dying left the Crown to his Son, who was ſo fortunate in War, as to take Priſoner in Battle St. *Lewis* King of *France*. Yet neither his Valour nor the many Virtues he poſſeſſed, could preſerve him from being murthered by theſe Slaves of his, not without the Participation of a Perſon who ought to have protected him. This Perſon was his Mother, whoſe Name was *Schogredar*, who was alſo a *Turk*, and commencing an Intrigue with *Ibek* the General of this Militia, for ſo they were now become, conſented that he ſhould diſpatch her Son, and jointly with her aſſume the regal Dignity, which accordingly he did, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, according to our Account, in the Year of our Lord 1250.

He did not however long enjoy that Power which he had ſo baſely uſurped; the ſame ambitious Woman deſtroyed him too, but the Crown was preſerved to his Poſterity. This is the Hiſtory of the firſt *Mamalukes*, who from their having the Cuſtody of the Sea Ports, were ſtiled *Maritime*, or *Sea Mamalukes*. The Princes of this Race to ſecure themſelves more effectually againſt foreign Invaders, and Domeſtick Treaſons, inſtituted a new Militia, compoſed of young *Circaſſians*, bred up in the great Cities of *Egypt*, where they were taught all ſorts of Exerciſes, and were intended to do the ſame ſervice to theſe *Sultans* as the *Grand Seignior* expects

from

from his Janizaries. But they copying the Behaviour of their Maſters, ſuddenly rebelled againſt the Prince who had ſettled and diſciplined them, and quickly deprived him of Life and Crown. Theſe were the ſecond Race of *Mamalukes*, and called themſelves by Way of Diſtinction *Inland Mamalukes*. Theſe were they who were conquered by the *Turks* under the fortunate *Sultan Selim*, about the Year 1517, and were the laſt independent Princes in *Egypt*. That Country having been ſince that Time only a Province of the *Turkiſh* Empire.

THE ſupreme Governor of this great Kingdom is generally ſtiled the *Baſſa* of *Cairo*, on Account of his Reſidence in that City. He is always honoured with the Title of *Vizir*, and, next that of the *Vizir Azem*, it is the firſt Employment in the Gift of the *Grand Seignior*. It is ſeldom obtained but by Bribery, a Thing ſo cuſtomary at the *Porte*, that it is no way ſcandalous. Before a Man ſets out for this Government it coſts him fifty, ſixty, or ſeventy Thouſand Pounds. When he arrives in *Egypt* he finds himſelf inveſted with all the Enſigns of Authority and abſolute Power, which the proudeſt Mind can wiſh, but it depends entirely on his own Prudence, whether he ſhall enjoy any more than the outward Appearance of all this Authority, as will be hereafter ſeen. The *Grand Seignior*'s Tribute conſiſts annually of 600,000 *Sequins* in ready Gold, which is ſent at the Expence of the *Baſſa*, who likewiſe furniſhes to the *Seraglio* Coffee, Sugar, Sherbets, and *Indian* Commodities nearly to the ſame Value. Beſides this the *Baſſa* furniſhes all the Expences the *Grand Seignior* is at in ſending the two Caravans of *Cairo* and *Damaſcus*

Damaſcus to *Mecca*, and he is likewiſe charged with the Civil and Military Appointments of all who are in the Service of the *Grand Seignior* within the Bounds of his Government. To defray all this, and to enable him to maintain Spies and Protectors in the *Serail*, he is allowed to take and receive without Account all the Revenues belonging to the *Grand Seignior*, which amount to an immenſe Sum. He is never appointed for any longer than a Year, yet is ſeldom removed from his Government in leſs than three, and ſome have remained there longer, but every Year's Continuance coſts a hundred thouſand Crowns in Preſents, without which there is nothing to be done.

His Reſidence is in the Caſtle of *Cairo*, where he holds his *Divan* with greater Pomp and Splendor than the *Grand Seignior* himſelf at *Conſtantinople*. He hath about his Perſon and in his Councils all the great Officers uſually attendant on a Court, ſuch as a *Kiajah*, or great Steward, *Reis Effendi*, or Chancellor, *Teſtadar*, or Treaſurer, *&c.* Under him he has twenty-four *Beys* or *Sanjacks*, who govern ſo many Provinces, tho' their Number is ſeldom compleat; and to theſe People he ſells their Governments, which is one Method of acquiring Money, and no inconſiderable one; beſides which they pay an annual Tribute, and keep up a Body of Militia at their own Expence. Theſe *Beys* command only the open Country, for almoſt every great Village is an independent Government poſſeſſed by a *Chek* or *Cheik*. So much for the Civil Adminiſtration. As to the Military Force, it conſiſts in different Bodies of Troops, all independent of each other, and which is ſtill more ſingular, independent of the *Baſſa*. The *Azaphs* or *Aſaphs*, are

are a Body of Infantry conſiſting of above five thouſand effective Men, under the Command of Officers choſen from among themſelves. They are looked upon as much inferior to the *Janizaries*, and on that Account there is an inexpreſſible Enmity between them. The *Spahis* are Corps of Cavalry, conſiſting of three Regiments, diſtinguiſhed by the Titles of the Green, the Yellow, and the Red, each Regiment conſiſting of a thouſand effective Men. They are commanded by a *Kiajah*, and as they are independent of the other Corps, ſo they mortally hate the *Aſaphs*, and the *Janizaries*. The *Bachouchs* are alſo certain Corps of Infantry, deſtined to various Services, conſiſting of three Regiments, each of five hundred Men. Laſtly, the *Janizaries*, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand effective Men, and about as many more nominal only; they are commanded in Chief by a *Kiajah*, whom they chuſe when they think fit, and alſo depoſe when they think fit; he is abſolutely independent of the *Baſſa*, and in ſome Meaſure of the *Grand Seignior*, for without the Conſent of the Council of Officers, neither he nor any private *Janizary* can be put to Death, notwithſtanding the *Sultan's* expreſs Order.

It is not eaſy to frame an Idea of the mighty Power of this Militia, but one may have ſome Notion of it from hence, that the whole Buſineſs of the *Baſſa* of *Cairo* is to contrive Ways and Means to balance the Authority of the *Janizaries* by that of the *Spahis*, and the reſt of the Troops, which he is ſometimes unable to do, and ſo is depoſed and impriſoned. The *Janizaries* are no leſs Tyrants in reſpect to the People, ſo that purely to eſcape their Vexations, many rich Merchants inroll

inroll themſelves in their Order, for which they pay conſiderably at their Admittance, and are ſubject to Contributions all their Life time after, on one Pretence or other; beſides at their Demiſe all they have goes to the Order, which is the Heir general of all its Members, a Thing monſtrous, and almoſt inconceiveable. When any Perſon who has the Reputation of being rich, and who was not a *Janizary* dies, the Order have as fair a Title to his Effects, for they have a falſe *Muſter-Roll*, into which they put the Names of ſuch as they would be glad to have of their Order, and a little hard ſwearing and a Preſent to the *Baſſa*, makes this as authentick as a Decree from the *Mufti*. If the *Beys* are at any Time upon bad Terms with the *Baſſa*, they do not indeed inroll themſelves *Janizaries*, but they put themſelves under the Protection of the Order, which is the ſame Thing, for they are effectually covered let their Crimes have been what they will. The *Aſaphs* and *Spahis* have likewiſe found the Sweets of this Method, ſo that where a Man has the Will and the Power of bribing, Juſtice muſt keep at a Diſtance from him, and the *Baſſa* with all his Parade of Sovereign Authority muſt be content to wink at him, tho' he ſhould be as notorious a Criminal as himſelf. This Expreſſion muſt ſeem very general, and to imply very little leſs, than that all the *Turkiſh* Governors are Men given to Fraud and Rapine; and truly I believe that moſt People who have reſided in that Country, will be ready to confeſs this Character general and unguarded as it is, not very far wide of Truth; however I am content to reſtrain it as much as I may, by confeſſing that there really are *Baſſas* of a different Character, Men of Honour and Generoſity,

Generosity, Lovers of Justice, and inclined to make the People happy; but then this does not at all contradict what I have said, since their Governments are not a Grain more advantagious to themselves, or beneficial to the People, but on the contrary produce new Inconveniencies to both.

Probity is not only rarely seen amongst the Great at *Cairo*, but it is also absolutely inconsistent with their Authority, nor can there possibly be a virtuous Administration in *Egypt*, Oppression and Tyranny runs thro' the whole System of Rule, and all Attempts to introduce Humanity, and other opposite Virtues, are considered as so many Violations of the Constitution. The *Beys* and the *Cheiks* live magnificently, and amass Fortunes by plundering the Country People, the *Janizaries*, *Spahis*, and *Azaps* live at their Ease, by pillaging those in Town. The *Bassa* hath vast Demands to satisfy, and in order to have wherewith to satisfy them, it is most evident that he must plunder too; a Disposition to do this puts him upon a Par with his Neighbours, and as many of them may want his Assistance, they are glad to afford him theirs. Hereby a Method is opened to him of acquiring that Authority which he ought to receive from his Commission, his Skill in balancing Parties, and preserving the casting Vote to himself, may enable him to answer all the Charges of his Government, and even to gain a Fortune for himself; but an appearance of Honour and Virtue, the being known to have a Disposition of doing Justice, immediately unites the most inveterate Enemies, and engages them to turn all the Bitterness which they exercise towards each other, upon him as upon the common Foe.

THIS is the true Senſe of that Divine Adage of our Saviour's, *The Children of this World are wiſer than the Children of Light.* For tho' it be true, that all juſt and good Men are allied to each other, that an Injury done to one, is an Injury done to them all, becauſe it is an Injury done to that Syſtem of Rule which they ſupport; yet they do not readily perceive this, or when they do, they are not wont to unite with Vigour, in order to redreſs the Grievance ſuſtained; and ſo Vice and Folly gain upon them by Degrees, till at laſt Reſiſtance is vain, and Redreſs becomes impoſſible. It is not ſo with wicked and unjuſt Men, their Intereſt here is their ſole Concern, and they are wiſe enough to know that what prejudices one Man's worldly Intereſt, will alſo prejudice another's. Self-Intereſt therefore teaches them Union, and they act in a bad Cauſe, with a Prudence and Spirit which would do them the higheſt Honour if they were engaged in a good one.

BUT it may be enquired why the *Grand Seignior* winks at theſe Diſorders; Diſorders ſo diſhonourable to his Sovereign Authority, and ſo apparently prejudicial to his Finances. The Reaſon of this too is eaſily underſtood, for he acts upon the ſame Principles with his *Janizaries* and *Baſſa*'s, and is ſo far from looking upon this State of Things as deſtructive to his Intereſt, that he conſiders it as the ſole Support thereof. A few Words will ſuffice to explain this Myſtery. The *Baſſa* rules *Egypt* by balancing Parties which would be infinitely too ſtrong for him if they were united, the *Grand Seignior* preſerves *Egypt*, by allowing the Power of the People to balance the Authority of the *Baſſa*. Union and Tranquillity amongſt his Subjects is the only Thing he fears;

for in ſuch a Caſe he apprehends that one of theſe two Evils would certainly follow, that his *Baſſa* would become a Sovereign Prince, by throwing aſide his Allegiance, or the People would expel him, and ſecure their own Freedom, by chuſing a Prince from among themſelves. Diſſenſion, Bloodſhed, and Oppreſſion, are therefore ſuffered, or rather maintained by the *Sultan*, that he may ſecure his Revenue, and the Dependance of *Egypt*; they are permitted and promoted by the *Baſſa*'s, becauſe they are ſubſervient to their Authority; they are exerciſed by the ſeveral Corps of Militia, becauſe they are this Way ſupported without Labour.

THUS do Men out-do Wolves, for they not only prey, but prey on each other, and that without Neceſſity. Here is the Thing that affrights weak Minds, when by Chance they diſcover theſe Things, or learn them as Diſcoveries from others; they immediately caſt the Blame upon Providence, and are on the Point of turning Infidels, becauſe they have not Senſe enough to diſcern the Divine Wiſdom. A Man would be laughed at, who pretended to quartel with his Maker for not having created an Ox, an Aſs, or a Horſe, a Hog. And yet this Objection is the ſame Thing, for it is quarrelling with God, becauſe he has created Men, Men, and not Brutes; becauſe he has given them Reaſon as well as Senſes, and a Power of attaining intellectual Happineſs, which they could not have had if their Nature had been otherwiſe conſtituted than it is. We do not ſuppoſe a Farm-houſe equal to a Palace, tho' we ſtand in the yard of one, and ſee the other at three or four Miles diſtance; but a vicious Man prefers the Hogſty of this World to the Paradiſe promiſed hereafter, meerly becauſe

because it is nearer; and therefore is as much a Fool in this Case, as he would be if he acted in the same manner in that. But shall we blame God for this, and not ourselves? Shall we believe it just for us to merit, and unjust for him to punish? What Equity is there in this? Or what difference is there between our talking at this Rate, and our affirming that the Author of our Reason has less Reason then we have ourselves?

But it is now Time to come to the Learning of this People, of which I promised to speak, and of which there is much to be said, and of which I flatter myself I can say somewhat not altogether beside the Purpose. The Learning of *Egypt* ought in my Opinion, to be divided into the Learning of the ancient *Egyptians* before they were conquered by the *Assyrians* and *Persians*, and the Learning of the Modern *Egyptians*, which I confess might with greater Propriety, be called the Learning of the *Arabians*. However, as both are distinct enough from the Learning of *Europe*, it may not be altogether amiss to give a general Account of both, the rather because many who have spoken on these Points have done it without any tolerable Comprehension of what they intended to explain, and in Terms so immethodical and obscure, as served rather to confound than enlighten their Readers. After having spoke so freely of others, I cannot expect to escape Censure myself, but if I deserve it, it shall not be in the same Way with my Predecessors, I will at least have the Merit of attempting to treat this Affair in a rational Way, and not endeavour to pass a Declamation on the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, upon the less knowing Perusers, for an Account of the *Egyptian* Learning; much less will I at-

tempt to impoſe my own Conjectures for the revived Fragments of that Science, the Veneration due to which hath been too often diverted to ſuch falſe Relicks. I think it may be laid down as a ſelf evident Maxim, *That Knowledge was there firſt perfected where Men were firſt ſettled.* For it is natural for the human Race to ſeek firſt Safety, then Neceſſaries, next Conveniences, and by Degrees Inſtruments of Luxury. Now as none of theſe can be had without Invention, Reaſoning, and Induſtry, it follows that Knowledge and Learning muſt encreaſe gradually, and muſt have come to Perfection firſt, in the firſt Plantation of Mankind. All Hiſtories Sacred and Prophane, agree that *Egypt* was very early planted; and therefore it is reaſonable to believe, that Learning was very early eſtabliſhed in *Egypt*. We ought therefore to give Credit to thoſe Accounts we meet with in the moſt early Writers of the Knowledge of the *Egyptians*, tho' I do not think that thoſe Writers are always to be depended upon, in what they tell us of the Learning of the *Egyptians*; for tho' this People might be very knowing, yet their Neighbours might have but confuſed and imperfect Ideas of their Knowledge. This I take to be very reaſonable, and am thoroughly perſuaded, that it is Matter of Fact. After this previous Admonition, I will proceed to ſpeak, Firſt of the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning, and ſecondly of its Extent. We are told by *Moſes*, that when *Abraham* went down into *Egypt*, he found that Kingdom perfectly well ſettled, and was received there with much Civility and Politeneſs. It does not however appear, at leaſt to me, that there was any material difference between the Religion of *Abraham*, and the Religion then profeſſed

profeſſed in *Egypt*. I ſay material difference, for I do not think that the Religion of *Abraham* and his Houſhold, was exactly the ſame with that of *Egypt*; becauſe if it had, there would have been no Occaſion for the *Revelations* made to that *Patriarch*, but I ſuppoſe that the *Egyptians* ſtill worſhipped one God, tho' it might be with a Mixture of Superſtition, which in a ſhort Time degenerated into Idolatry. *Joſephus* informs us, that the Father of his Nation found the *Egyptians* much inclined to Learning, but not excellent therein, and that he was extremely careſſed for his ſuperior Knowledge, and for the Diſcoveries he made known to them in various Sciences. All this is perfectly probable, for *Abraham* being by Birth a *Chaldean*, and *Chaldea* according to *Moſes*, being the firſt Peopled Country in the World, Learning muſt have become perfect there before it could be ſo in *Egypt*, and indeed there is great Authority to prove, as well as the higheſt Reaſon to believe, that the Progreſs of Learning was from *Chaldea* to *Egypt*, and from thence to the Weſtern Parts of the World. When *Joſeph* went down into this Country, of which we are ſpeaking, he found Things much altered, as we may well conceive they might be in the Space of two hundred Years. The *Egyptian* Monarch kept then a regular and magnificent Court, the Religion of the *Egyptians* was then quite new moulded, and the Learning of *Egypt* was held in very high Eſteem. We ſee too what ſort of Learning that was, what were the principal Cauſes, Inclinations, and Arts of Policy among the Great in that Kingdom. It is from this Hiſtory, I mean the Hiſtory of *Joſeph* as written by *Moſes*, that we have the beſt and plaineſt

Account of the ancient State of *Egypt*, and therefore whoever would profecute the Story of this Nation at large, ought to ſtudy this Part of the *Moſaic* Writings carefully, and to prefer what he diſcovers there from to all that can be learned from *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, or the Fragments of *Manetho*; becauſe ſetting aſide his Inſpiration, *Moſes* according to the ſtricteſt Laws of Criticiſm, is by far a more authentick Writer than any of theſe, as being much nearer the Times of which he wrote, and having much better Opportunities of knowing the *Egyptian* Affairs than any of thoſe Writers could poſſibly have. It is recorded of this great Man, I mean *Moſes*, that he was verſed in all the Learning of *Egypt*, and this was no doubt intended to fill up his Character, as a wiſe and knowing Man, before he received the Sanction of a prophetic Miſſion, and had his Mind illuminated by divine Inſpiration. All that he ſays of himſelf is ſo humble, and all that is ſaid of him by the reſt of the ſacred Writers, is ſo general, as well as conciſe, that it is not eaſy to ſpeak with any Degree of Certainty of the Sciences wherein he was inſtructed while he lived in *Egypt*: However as he was educated in the Royal Family, there can be no Ground to queſtion his having a thorough and perfect Idea, as well of the hidden as of the open Literature of *Egypt*, which was a Diſtinction begun ſo very early, that there is Reaſon to believe it had commenced before his Time. If we were to take in, under the Notion of aſſured Commentaries on the ſacred Text, what hath been written on the Life of *Moſes* by *Joſephus* and *Philo*, then we ſhould be able to ſpeak very explicitly; but they write ſo apparently in the *Greek* Stile, that is in the Stile of Con-

Conjecture, that for my own Part, tho' I have a high Opinion of both their Judgments, yet I cannot bring myſelf to rely upon the Authority of either. But tho' *Moſes* hath not left us any Account of the Learning of *Egypt*, we may find in his Writings a great Variety of Facts which have a Reference thereto, and from which we may conclude, that it was both ſolid and extenſive, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew in the Proſecution of this Diſcourſe.

In the Time of *Solomon*, *Egypt* was in the very Zenith of her Glory, and this it was that induced that wiſe and magnificent Prince to deſire to ally himſelf to its Monarch, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he reduced one of the Maritime Cities of the *Philiſtines*, or rather had it given him by the King of *Egypt*, when he had taken and burnt it with Fire, which ſhews that the *Egyptians* were then very perfect in the Art of War. In the Reign of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* made a perfect Conqueſt of his Kingdom, that is as perfect a Conqueſt as he made of any Kingdom, for he pretended to no more than honorary Tribute, and an Acknowledgment of his being *Lord Paramount*, as we ſpeak. This *Shiſhak* was the *Seſoſtris* of the *Greeks*, and the only great Conqueror who reigned in *Egypt*, if we except *Oſyris*, and the reſt of the fabulous Heroes. The ſacred Hiſtorians of ſucceeding Reigns ſpeak very frequently of the *Egyptians*, their Knowledge, Induſtry, and Proweſs; and it muſt be confeſſed even by ſuch as would diſpute their divine Authority, that the Accounts we have from theſe Writers are the moſt conſiſtent, the moſt rational, and the moſt uſeful that are any where to be met with.

As to the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning among the *Greeks*, it is impoſſible to conceive any Thing greater or more illuſtrious than it was. The Founders of the States and of the Religion of *Greece* were all either *Egyptians* or Perſons who boaſted of their being verſed in the Learning of the *Egyptians*. Their greateſt Poets celebrated that Kingdom as the Region of Science: The wiſeſt of their Legiſlators acknowledged themſelves indebted for their Abilities in that ſublime Art, to the Inſtructions they had received, and the Obſervations they had made in the Country we are ſpeaking of. Their beſt Hiſtorians affected nothing ſo much as the recording the Exploits of this People, and endeavouring to ſet their Hiſtories in a clear Light, as the *Greek* Philoſophers never pretended to diſown their being indebted to the *Egyptians* for the Rudiments at leaſt of all that Knowledge which they taught their Diſciples. I might have quoted in Support of what I have been ſaying, the Writings of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, and above all *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, with the reſt of the *Greek* Writers of Eminence, who all agree in affirming, that the *Egyptians* were a moſt learned and knowing People. Here therefore I reſt that Evidence which I think ſufficient to prove, that the Fame of the *Egyptian* Wiſdom was great and univerſal, and conſequently ſuch as deſerves Credit. But as I before remarked, tho' the Reputation of the *Egyptian* Learning may well be underſtood by the Accounts given of it by the *Greeks*, yet can we gather but a very imperfect and indifferent Idea thereof, from the Particulars they have been pleaſed to communicate.

SOME of them, such as the Poets, and miscellaneous Writers, mention it occasionally, or partially, as it suits with their Subjects. Others, as Historians and Antiquarians, insist upon it; but then they are so concise on such Heads of the *Egyptian* Science as they understood, and so diffuse on those Points which they confessed they did not understand, that one is frequently astonished, but very seldom enlightned by what they say. Hence it is that the fabulous History of *Egypt*, as the *Greeks* have given it to us, is the most unintelligible Jumble of Absurdities that ever appeared. We are indeed told in Excuse of this, that the *Egyptian* Priests did not only do their utmost to conceal the History and Antiquities of their Nation from Strangers, but even took a Pleasure in imposing on them, and in passing on them romantic Stories, and ridiculous unintelligible Allegories, for grand Secrets, and the hidden Mysteries of their sacred and civil Institutions. To believe therefore in the Gross all that the *Greeks* have told us is irrational, and must lead us into Error, and to reject the whole would be to own an absolute Ignorance, and a Despair of being better informed. The middle Road therefore is in this, as in most other Cases the safest; and we ought to believe that the *Egyptians* were well versed in all the Sciences, and that what is excellent and worthy of a wise People, in the Accounts given of them by the *Greeks*, ought to be esteemed just and authentick; whereas all Things mean and trivial, that are found mixt in these Accounts, ought to be looked upon as spurious, and the Effects of the Author's Credulity or Boldness.

I AM now come to the second Head I proposed, that is, the real Extensiveness of the ancient *Egyptian* Learning;

Learning; and in Support of this I ſhall offer Facts only, having already placed all Authorities on this Subject under the former Head. As to the Knowledge of the ancient *Egyptians* in Theology, I am perſuaded it was very great. Nor can I bring my ſelf to believe that any of the Fables which are attributed to the *Egyptians* were believed by them, that is, ſtrictly and literally. On the contrary, I am convinced that they were allegoric Syſtems of natural Myſteries, and that we have the true Keys of very few of them. As to that Diviſion which I heretofore mention'd of *hidden* and *open* Divinity, I will not hide my Suſpicion, that as the *open* Divinity conſiſted in downright Idolatry, ſo the *hidden*, which was in very few Hands, did not fall much ſhort of the true Religion, that is to ſay, it conſiſted in knowing that the popular Religion was made up of Types and Shadows, and that the true Worſhip of God conſiſted in acknowledging his Unity, and in doing Good to his Creatures. Neither do I conceive that this *hidden* Divinity was peculiar to the *Egyptians*, but that it was known to the Legiſlators of moſt of the heathen Nations, and that the Diſcoveries they ſometimes made of it to their favourite Diſciples gave Riſe to thoſe Suſpicions of Atheiſm, which we find ſo rudely fixed upon them by Writers who were zealous, or affected to be zealous for the *Vulgar Faith*.

I SHOULD very willingly enter into the Detail of the Reaſons which have not only led me to, but confirmed me in this Opinion, were this a proper Place. But inaſmuch as ſuch an Account would take up a great deal of Room, and lead me into many Digreſſions, I will content my ſelf for the preſent with obſerving, that if in the

the Sequel of this Diſcourſe I ſhall prove that in other Reſpects the ancient *Egyptians* were a well-governed, wiſe, polite, and induſtrious People, then it ought to be inferr'd, that the beſt of them had rational and conſiſtent Notions in Religion, and that even the People were not ſo ſtupid as to believe a Religion altogether without Art or Contrivance, which would have been certainly the Caſe, if the Religion of the *Egyptians* had been really ſuch a one as many of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers repreſented. To this I will add, that the Ridicule ſo freely play'd by theſe Writers upon the *Egyptian* Religion, is a ſtrong Preſumption that they were not right in their Sentiments about it; for how can we believe that thoſe who were the Maſters of the *Greeks* in all their Sciences, as they again were of the *Romans*, ſhould fall ſo miſerable ſhort of them in this firſt and moſt important of all Sciences? But to paſs from Religion to Government.

THIS ſeems to have been the Glory of the People of whom we are now ſpeaking; and the Accounts we have of it are ſo far from being obſcure, that they are ſufficient to prove this Nation the wiſeſt of any in the World in the Settlement of its Conſtitution, and the moſt happy in its Effects. As to the Form of Rule which prevailed in *Egypt*, it was that of *Monarchy*. The ancient Kings of *Egypt* were ſtiled *Pharaohs*, which was a Name of Dignity, and followed by the proper Name of the Prince, as *Pharaoh Hophrà*, *Pharaoh Neco*. He was ſtiled abſolute, and he might be abſolute if he pleaſed. Yet there was a Table of Rules for the Conduct of the King, which deſcended to the minuteſt Points. Such as the Time of his Riſing,

his

his Meals, and the Hours of his Diverſions, to which he uſually ſubmitted, not only in Conformity to his Predeceſſors, but becauſe he knew that though he was above all Men during his Life, yet he ſhould not fail to be judged after he was dead by his People. This was the ſole Limitation, if it may be ſo called, under which an *Egyptian* Monarch lay. He was daily admoniſhed by the Prieſts, but in a diſtant and reſpectful Way; and as ſoon as he was dead, certain Officers, appointed by the People, commenced a Suit againſt his Reputation, wherein, with great Freedom, they examined all his Actions; and if on a fair Trial the People condemned him, then his Corps was not interred with Funeral Solemnity, an Evil of all others moſt dreaded by the ancient *Egyptians*. This Cuſtom the *Iſraelites* carried with them from hence, and preſerved it very carefully, as appears from the ſeveral Memorandums we meet with in the *Chronicles*, concerning the Burials of the Kings of *Judah*, which are exactly conformable to this *Egyptian* Law.

As to the People, they had their Properties exactly ſecured to them, were all divided into certain Claſſes, and each Claſs had its Trade or Profeſſion, in which Men were bred from Father to Son, and out of which they could not poſſibly be removed. By this Regulation all Profeſſions were alike cultivated; and though they were not alike honourable, yet were none of them eſteemed baſe or mean. The Prieſts and Soldiers were particularly eſteemed. The former were not only the Miniſters of the Gods, but the Counſellors of their Kings, and had thereby a very great Power; whence in all Probability it came to paſs that the ancient *Egyptians* were addicted rather to Peace than to War: Yet we

must

muſt not ſuppoſe that they were then what the modern *Egyptians* are, a timid and effeminate Race of People, altogether averſe to military Diſcipline, and incapable of Hardſhip; for their Militia, on the contrary, was the very beſt in the World, and their Cavalry eſpecially, capable of performing Wonders. But the Love of their Country abated their martial Ardour, and made them content to think that diſtinguiſhing themſelves in defenſive Wars was not only a juſt, but a ſufficient Title to military Praiſe, that is, to ſo much of this Sort of Reputation as they deſired. But the Hiſtory and Polity of this People, their Power, their Wealth, and their Magnificence, are not expreſsly the Subjects of this Diſcourſe, but come in occaſionally, as Proofs of their Wiſdom. The Conſtitution of *Egypt* was ſuch, as joined to the natural Fertility and Beauty of the Country made the People both happy and ſatisfied, which was the Reaſon, that though the Love of Glory induced them to march under the Command of the great *Seſoſtris*, to the Conqueſt of all the Countries between the *Ganges* and the *Danube*, yet they affected not to retain any of the Provinces they ſubſuded, but contented themſelves with Tribute, Acknowledgments of Sovereignty, and erecting ſtrong and laſting Monuments to perpetuate the Remembrance of their Victories.

AFTER this, they enjoyed a long and uninterrupted Peace, which they ſpent in adorning their Country, and in rendering habitable thoſe Waſtes and Deſerts which now through Want of Care are become as inhoſpitable as ever. To ſay the Truth, the Cities, Publick Buildings, Royal Sepulchres, Pyramids, and other Monuments, are the cleareſt and moſt indiſputable

Proofs

Proofs of the Knowledge, as well as the Publick Spirit of this Nation. The Accounts we have in the ancient Hiſtorians of the Wonders of the ancient *Thebes*, may, for ought I know, be fabulous; but the Ruins that are ſtill to be ſeen in all Parts of *Egypt*, are apt to beget Doubts in the Minds of Travellers whether any thing reported of the *Egyptian* Buildings be Fable. For theſe Ruins ſo evidently ſurpaſs any thing that is to be ſeen elſewhere, except thoſe of *Perſepolis*, (which ſome *Arabian* Authors affirm to have been built by *Egyptian* Workmen) that Men are apt to gather from thence, that the Palaces and Cities of *Egypt*, when entire, were as much ſuperior to thoſe in other Parts. It is true, that this Suppoſition may be falſe; yet this is uncertain, whereas that it is probable is a Thing of which we cannot doubt.

ALL the Ruins and Remains of Antiquity in this Country, proclaim, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, with one Voice, the exquiſite Taſte, as well as the great Skill and admirable Induſtry of Thoſe who erected them. A ſimple Grandeur, a Magnificence ariſing from Proportion, a Diſpoſition that pleaſes every Beholder from the Perſpicuity of its Perfection juſtly ſurprizes an intelligent Spectator when he contemplates either the Palaces or the Temples of *Egypt*. As to the Hieroglyphicks with which the Walls of thoſe Buildings are covered within-ſide and without, I pretend not to meddle with their Contents; for, as I cannot demonſtrate exactly the Wiſdom contained in them, ſo I can never bring my ſelf to believe that they are ſuch Marks of Folly as the vain and puerile Interpretations of ſome of the Learned have made them. I have read that the *Ethio-*

pians

pians and *Scythians*, made uſe of Figures inſtead of Letters in expreſſing their Notions. It may be, that in ancient Times this was the univerſal Language of the Learned throughout the Eaſt; and I think that it may in ſome Meaſure confirm this Notion what the moſt learned Travellers have obſerved of a ſacred and profane Language, as well as Character, which is ſtill in Uſe in almoſt every Oriental Country. To this I think I may add, that the Pictures of Animals were fit to compoſe what might be called an *Alphabet* of *Nature*, becauſe they would repreſent the ſame Ideas to all Beholders who were once initiated in this Character, which by this Method might be made univerſal; whether it was, or was not ſo, is what I cannot, but it is poſſible ſome body hereafter may prove.

THE other Publick Works of the *Egyptians*, ſuch as their Mounts, their Canals, their artificial Lakes, are at ſuch a Diſtance of Time ſeen with vaſt Diſadvantage. Time hath either levelled, or at leaſt reduced to Hillocks, the firſt, rendered the ſecond Ditches, or Gutters, to what they were, and converted into loathſome Moraſſes thoſe glorious Repoſitories of the beſt Water in the World, which the Wiſdom of the ancient Kings of *Egypt* contrived, and which their induſtrious and obedient People executed with incredible Labour. But if they are not what they were, they ſtill ſerve to ſhew us where theſe Miracles of Art once were: And there are ſo many clear Proofs deducible from the Uſes to which they ſerved, as well as from the Accounts given of them in Hiſtory, that we cannot doubt of their being as vaſt and wonderful as they are repreſented. By what has been ſaid of the City of *Alexandria*, it will be moſt evident,

evident, that theſe were not ſimple Works of Magnificence, or that any more Labour or Coſt was employed about them than was neceſſary to make them what it was fit and requiſite they ſhould be. Thus the Lake *Moeris* was to have a Capacity ſufficient, if I may ſo ſay, to pour another *Nile* through the Deſarts, between it and *Alexandria*. I am convinced, from the Veſtiges that ſtill remain in the Country on the other Side of the *Nile*, that the like Arts were uſed to ſupply that Territory with Water. And hence, in my Opinion, ariſes a double Proof of the Populouſneſs of this Country. For, if there had not been almoſt an incredible Number of People, how could theſe immenſe Works have been performed; and, on the other hand, if *Egypt*, in the Condition it is now in, had been ſufficient to ſupply its Inhabitants with all Things neceſſary, to what End was ſo much Pains beſtowed to render theſe Deſarts habitable, which in their natural State might have ſerved for Fortifications. As to the Number of the Inhabitants under its moſt ancient Kings, it may well be thought an impracticable Talk to aſcertain it. However, I think I can render it very probable, that under *Seſoſtris* there were in this Country between twenty and twenty-ſix Millions, which I think I could alſo ſhew might live as well, and as comfortably in that Country in the Condition it was then in, as the *Swiſs* do in their's, which I take to be the moſt populous Country in *Europe*.

THUS I take my Leave of this Subject; for if the framing a Religion ſo as to anſwer all the Ends of State; if the ſettling a Conſtitution which ſubſiſted ſixteen hundred Years without Alteration; if the inventing a military Diſcipline which enabled thoſe who were trained

up

up therein to conquer the greateſt Part of the then known World; if the making artificial Seas and Rivers, turning ſandy Deſerts into fruitful Fields, and erecting fine Cities where Nature had not afforded Materials for a Cottage: If, I ſay, all theſe Things, and many more of as ſtupendous a Nature, which, were it not to avoid Prolixity, I could eaſily reckon up, do not prove the Authors of them to have poſſeſſed ſolid and extenſive Wiſdom, then I muſt confeſs my ſelf miſtaken, and that my Partiality for the ancient *Egyptians* hath led me aſtray.

I SHALL now ſpeak of the Learning of the modern *Egyptians*, which is no other than that of the *Arabs*; and I ſhall the rather do it, Firſt, becauſe there is no Country in which it is better cultivated than it is in this: And ſecondly, becauſe from the Accounts I have heard of this Sort of Learning in *Europe*, I am apt to think our Notions concerning it are not either ſo juſt or ſo diſtinct as they might be. That the *Arabs*, in the Days of *Mohammed*, were a very rude and indigent People, is certainly true; but that they had been always ſo, or that at this very Time there were none amongſt them that had the leaſt Tincture of Literature, is what I think not altogether ſo apparent as ſome would make it. The Reaſon of my Opinion is this: The *Koran*, or *Bible* of the *Mohamedans*, is written not only in a ſublime, but elegant Stile, and, as I obſerved before, its Elegance is one of the grand Arguments for the divine Inſpiration of *Mohammed*. Thus they put it. Our *Prophet*, by his own Confeſſion was an illiterate and ſimple *Man*; his Book, however, is written in a pure and flowing Language, adorned with all the Figures of Rhetorick, and ſuperior

to any thing that hath been written in the ſame Language ſince, therefore he wrote it by the Direction, or which is the ſame thing, had it delivered to him by the *Almighty*. To refel this Propoſition, there is nothing more neceſſary than to conſider the manifeſt Imperfections viſible in the *Koran*; ſuch as Facts falſe ſtated, Errors in Geography, and Chronology; and, which is ſtill of greater Importance than any of theſe, flat Contradictions. But if the *Koran* be not divinely inſpired, it is nevertheleſs excellently writ; and this is a Proof that the *Arabian* Stile arrived at Perfection, either in, or before the Days of *Mohammed*; whence I ſuppoſe it will follow, that thoſe who uſed this Language were not utter *Barbarians*, but Men tollerably acquainted with the moſt uſeful of the Sciences, and who were accuſtomed to diſcourſe of Things natural and divine.

THE Critics admit that there are in the Book of *Job* abundance of *Arabick* Words, and it is indiſputably written in the Manner of that People. This ſeems a ſtrong Confirmation of what was ſaid before; and indeed I think it can be hardly conceived, that a Nation ſhould remain *Barbarians* in the laſt Degree, and yet make uſe of a comprehenſive and a copious Language. The Truth ſeems to be, that a certain Kind of mixt Theology, a ſort of moral Philoſophy, and a jumbled Notion of Aſtronomy and Aſtrology, made up the Learning of the *Arabians*, who were Cotemporaries with *Mohammed*, or lived in the Ages before him. Thoſe who ſucceeded him were barbarous indeed, for they affected Barbariſm, and for ſeveral Succeſſions made War on the Republick of Letters, as fiercely as they did on all the neighbouring Nations. It was in this unfortunate Seaſon when

when Enthuſiaſm was triumphant, and Literature in Diſgrace, that *Egypt* fell into their Hands, and ſuffered no leſs by their burning all the Manuſcripts therein, than by their overturning and deſtroying thoſe Edifices which Time itſelf, and all *Barbarians* but theſe had ſeen with Reverence. By degrees, however, this Paſſion for Ignorance wore off; and as the *Caliphs* began to think themſelves Princes as well as Prieſts, they likewiſe grew content to ſuffer Learning to revive a little, and at laſt began to cultivate and encourage it. *Abu Jaafar Almanſur* the Second *Caliph* of the *Abaſſides*, was the great Reſtorer of Science among the *Arabians*; for he, not contented with the Study of their Language and Laws, which had been hitherto the utmoſt Limit of any *Caliph*'s Knowledge, apply'd himſelf to the Sciences, and ſhew'd a great deal of Countenance, not only to the learned Men of his own Country and Religion, but to Strangers alſo. As his Reign was long and glorious, ſo his Conduct gave a Sort of Rule to his Succeſſors, who were no longer afraid or aſhamed to acknowledge themſelves Protectors of Learning, and of its Profeſſors.

THERE did not want, however, ſome enthuſiaſtical Doctors, who thought that profane Literature might endanger their Religion; and theſe Men having great Credit with the People, could not miſs of having ſome alſo with their Sovereigns, till at lenth the *Caliph Almamun*, who was the Sixth of the Houſe before mentioned, freed himſelf from all Reſtraints, engaged the Learned in all Profeſſions, of all Religions, and from all Countries, to aſſemble in his Court, and patronized a Multitude of Tranſlations, as well from the *European*, as from the Oriental Languages: By the former, I mean

the *Greek* and *Latin*; and by the latter, the ancient *Perſian* and *Indian* Languages. On this Account he is regarded as the *Auguſtus* of the Learned; but the Bigots are not yet reconciled to his Memory; they are perſuaded, that by an Affectation of Magnificence and univerſal Benevolence, he corrupted the Manners of the Faithful, and by introducing of foreign Philoſophy, made Room for a Number of Hereſies which have followed in Religion. I mention this to ſhew, that Men who would cover their own narrow Notions with the Veil of Religion, talk much the ſame Language in all Places; not that I am inſenſible of the Miſchiefs which Religion hath ſuffered by the Intrigues of Men of Letters; on the contrary, I am ſenſible that a Hereſy is ſeldom dangerous, but when ſuch a Man is at the Head of it; yet I cannot think that Learning ought to be diſcouraged on this Account, becauſe, if it ſhould, I know of no Remedy that could be applyed to this very Evil. *Julian* was ſo ſenſible of this, that though he deteſted that Method of perſecuting, which had been uſed by *Nero* and *Dioclefian*, yet he bethought himſelf of another, which would have been more fatal to the Church, that of forbidding her Children to ſtudy human Literature. Is it not ſtrange that Bigots and Perſecutors ſhould think alike, and recommend one and the ſame Method with ſuch different Views, as the extirpating and ſecuring Religion? Or ought we not to be careful of admitting That as a Medicine, when preſcribed by ſuſpicious Friends, which our Enemies would force upon us as a Poiſon? The wiſer Part of the *Mohammedans* have been always in this Sentiment, and eſpecially the Princes of that Religion, who reigned in *Egypt*. Theſe were great Encouragers

of

of Learning, and the Sun-ſhine of their Favour brought many Strangers of Merit to their Courts.

It is true, that the *Mamaluks* turned all Things upſide down, and were as open Enemies to Letters, as to Virtue; fond of their own brutal Policy, Power was the Idol they worſhipped, and a licentious Luxury the only Happineſs they ſought. No wonder then that all the Profeſſors of Learning fled out of *Egypt*, nor have they returned thither but by ſlow degrees; however, in this laſt Age a Number of concurring Accidents have made the *Arabian* Literature flouriſh here again. What chiefly contributed thereto was, the retiring hither of many of the richeſt *Moors*, who were driven out of *Spain*; as alſo the Munificence of ſuch *Turkiſh* Lords as having ſhelter'd themſelves in *Egypt*, enjoy either under the Protection of the *Spahis*, or *Janizaries*, the Poſſeſſion of large Eſtates, which they acquired at Court. Add to this the Temperature of the Air, and the Serenity of the Climate, which ſeem naturally to incline the *Egyptians* to certain Studies. But it is time to be more particular, and to enter into a direct Detail of the Sciences which are at preſent in Vogue amongſt the politer Part of the Inhabitants of this Country. This I ſhall endeavour to perform as ſuccinctly and impartially as I can. For, as on the one hand I can never ſubſcribe to the common Opinion, that the Inhabitants of all Parts of the Earth, except *Europe*, are *Barbarians*; ſo I ſhall never be brought on the other to allow, that the *Europeans* fall ſhort of theſe in true Wiſdom and uſeful Knowledge, which ſome who have grown enthuſiaſtically fond of the Oriental Learning would perſuade us,

I SHALL begin with obſerving, that although nothing is more common in *Europe* than to meet with Men who have no Sort of Taſte for Books, or Learning of any Kind, yet this is ſeldom, or rather never the Caſe in this Country, eſpecially among the *Arabs*. For though there are but few comparatively ſpeaking, who can read or write tollerably, yet the Knowledge of paſt Events, and the Contents of Poems and Hiſtories, famous amongſt them, is a Sort of univerſal Paſſion. Beſides, for their Genealogies, and the Hiſtories of their reſpective Tribes, if we may call this Learning, every Man is poſſeſſed of it: They tranſmit it from Father to Son: They employ all their leiſure Time in hearing or telling the Exploits of their Anceſtors; neither is there any thing that endears a Foreigner to them ſo much as his liſt'ning patiently to thoſe Recitals. Poetry ſeems to have been in Eſteem with all the Oriental Nations from the earlieſt Point of Time; and indeed if Enthuſiaſm, or ſupernatural Tranſport be, as it is generally eſteemed, the Eſſence of Poetry, then the Authors of this Country ought to carry away the Prize, as well in Point of Excellence, as of Numbers. The *Arabick* is, of all Languages, except the *Greek*, the beſt ſuited to poetick Compoſitions, for it is extremely ſonorous, very copious, abounding with Epithets, and extremely capable of that Figure which the *Greeks* call *Paranomaſia*, which I think I cannot expreſs better than by calling it a Method of aſſiſting *Senſe* by *Sounds*, an Embelliſhment frequently met with in the Sacred Scriptures, and which has certainly very happy Effects; though I know it has not been held a true Beauty by our modern Critics. The *Perſian* Language is alſo extremely capable of all the Excel-

Excellencies of Poetry, and tho' there are not ſo many, yet there have been as great and as celebrated Poets of this Nation, as of any other in the *Eaſt*; for which Reaſon all who pretend to Learning, not only throughout *Egypt*, but through the whole *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, apply themſelves to this Language, ſo as to acquire a Facility not only in ſpeaking and reading it, but of writing it alſo, for without this Accompliſhment, there is no acquiring the Character of Politeneſs in any of the Courts of *Aſia*. The *Turkiſh*, which is in Fact a mixture of various Tongues, *viz.* the *Arabick*, *Sclavonick*, and modern *Greek*, is yet capable of Compoſitions very muſical and pleaſant; but there are not many Poems of great Fame in this Language unleſs tranſlated, the politer *Turks* content themſelves with Madrigals, Sonnets, and a ſort of Elegiac Poems, which yet would not be held deſpicable in any other Language.

Next to Poetry, we may reckon their Paſſion for Moral Philoſophy, the Precepts of which are generally delivered in a mixt kind of Works, that is, partly Proſe and partly Verſe. There are of theſe in all the Oriental Languages, and they are alike read and eſteemed in all. They conſiſt of certain Maxims or Aphoriſms, illuſtrated by ſhort Diſcourſes, Compariſons, Allegories, Apologues, Paſſages from Hiſtory, Quotations from Poets, and ſometimes Prologues and Epilogues in Verſe, by the Authors themſelves. This kind of Books are uſually recommended to young People, in reſpect as well to their pleaſantneſs, as to the Tendency they have to correct their Manners. They likewiſe make a part of the Entertainment of ſtudious and ſedentary People, and

are ſometimes read in ſelect Companies of Friends, who aſſemble for the Sake of promoting Knowledge. The ordinary ſort of *Turks* content themſelves with reading, or hearing read to them certain Romances, full of ſtrange incredible Adventures, but connected by ſuch a ſtrong Spirit of Enthuſiaſm, and ſo diverſified by the Fecundity of the Oriental Genius, that to thoſe who have heard and underſtand them, the Pleaſure the *Turks* take in them is not at all ſtupendious, much leſs ridiculous, as ſome of our Authors would repreſent it.

I remember amongſt others, to have heard once the following Story read in a pretty large Company: One of the *Caliphs* finding himſelf in Danger, from the Ambition, Wealth, and Power of one of his Miniſters, conceived that the ſafeſt Way of delivering himſelf was to ſacrifice this Man to the People; and therefore having ordered him to be put to Death, he at the ſame Time by Proclamation, beſtowed his Houſe and all his Wealth on the Populace. There wanted nothing more than this Royal Permiſſion to ſet the Mob to work, who inſtantly tore the Houſe in Pieces, every one taking what came firſt to hand. The Author of this Hiſtory digreſſes on this Occaſion, into a large Account of the Miniſter's Luxury, which as he informs us, was ſuch, that there were in his Kitchen conſtantly a certain number of Diſhes ready to be ſet on the Table. Amongſt the Mob there was one *Kobak*, a poor miſerable Fellow, who ſubſiſted by ſelling Greens; this Man ſtumbled by Chance on a Bag with two thouſand Pieces of Gold, a great good Fortune in outward Appearance, but the Buſineſs was how to ſecure it; *Kobak* carried it as well as he could into the Kitchen, and ſeeing there an earthern

thern Pot half full of Rice and Mutton, he threw his Bag into it, and then ſetting the Pot upon his Head, marched off in Triumph. The Crowd made Way for him as he paſſed, ſhouting and jeering him for making Prize of a little Victuals, *Well, well*, ſaid *Kobak*, *you who have Riches may covet Riches, to me it is ſomething that I have got a Dinner.* The People were ſo well pleaſed with the Modeſty of this Anſwer, that they commended the Man, and ſuffered him to go peaceably to his Hut, where he quickly diſcovered to his Family that he had brought them Rice and Mutton for their Life-time. The *Turks* laughed immoderately at this Relation, which ſo provoked a *German* who was preſent, that he could not avoid aſking *Oſman Effendi*, who brought him, where the Wit or Senſe of that Story lay. *Why*, Friend anſwered the *Turk* gravely, *Art thou one of the Mob, that amongſt the Rice and Mutton looſe Sight of the Gold, and think your own Ignorance Wiſdom.*

Not to carry Things farther than they naturally go, I think I may affirm, that as the Oriental Imagination is wonderfully ſharp, amazingly rapid, and yet always pleaſant and amuſing; ſo there is a Profundity in Judgment, eſpecially obſervable in the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who have applyed themſelves to Learning, which can never be deſcribed. When one of theſe Stories hath been read, the Book is generally laid by. Then ſomebody ſtarts a Queſtion, another replies, and as the Converſation grows warm, a Multitude of ſhining ſublime Things are ſaid, which would appear altogether incredible if repeated. The publick Accademies, or as we call them in *Europe* Univerſities, are very numerous in the Countries poſſeſſed by *Mohammedan* Princes, and there are a prodigious

digious number of Scholars educated in each of them. It is not therefore a real Want of Learning, which makes theſe People appear ſo ignorant to our *European* Travellers, but their valuing that Learning moſt which we value leaſt, and in which, few of our Travellers have any Skill at all. Beſides it requires a great deal of Time and Application to acquire any Degree of Knowledge in the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Tongues, and a much longer Space to reliſh the Hiſtories, Poems, and Eſſays, that are wrote in them. However if no other Good reſulted from it, this alone would juſtify a Man in taking ſuch Pains, that he hath thereby an Opportunity of reading many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors entire, of which we have only mutilated Copies. For inſtance, there is certainly a compleat *Arabick* Tranſlation of *T. Livius*, and I have been informed, that there is a compleat Verſion of *Curtius* in *Perſian*. To condemn therefore in the groſs all theſe People eſteem, is abſurd; becauſe we at the ſame Time include what we ſtudy and admire ourſelves. But of this enough.

We are in *Europe* ſtrongly prejudiced againſt Oriental Hiſtories, but this Prejudice is derived rather from their Manner than their Matter, and ſometimes for want of diſtinguiſhing Romances from Hiſtory. It is many Ages ago that *Xenophon* borrow'd from the *Perſians* the Plan of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus*, a Work not written ſtrictly according to Facts, and yet not fill'd up with Falſehoods, but with the Appearances of Truth, fitted to amuſe and to inſtruct, not to deceive or to delude the Reader; for it is well known throughout the *Eaſt*, and was no Doubt as well underſtood by the *Greeks*, that theſe Pieces were not ſtrict Hiſtory, but

that

that they had what the skilful in Muſick call a *Ground* of Fact, the reaſoning and Decorations flowing from the Genius of the Author. But beſides theſe hiſtorical Romances, which are indeed very numerous, there are in the *Eaſt* a great abundance of original and well wrote Hiſtories.

Some of them contain general Tranſactions in all Nations, from the beginning of the World, to ſome certain Period; ſome the particular of certain Nations; ſome containing the *Dynaſties* of the ancient Kings before the Time of *Mohammed*; ſome recording the Hiſtory of the Princes of that Faith, who have ruled in all the Nations that have embraced it. Moſt of theſe are in *Perſian* or *Arabick*, ſome in the *Turkiſh* Language, and a great many tranſlated into it. There are no leſs than thirteen Hiſtories of the Houſe of *Othoman*, written by ſeveral Authors, ſome in Proſe, and ſome in Verſe. Beſides, there is hardly a great City in all the *Eaſt* of which there is not one, or more Hiſtories. The Lives of *Caliphs*, *Sultans*, famous *Generals*, *Stateſmen*, *Hiſtorians*, *Poets*, and *Holy Men* are written apart; and there are likewiſe numberleſs Accounts of Earthquakes, Famines, Plagues, Rebellions, Revolutions, and other remarkable Events, penn'd in the Way of Chronicle, with excellent Remarks, and curious Obſervations. Some great Men have compiled large Collections in the Eſſay kind, long before that kind of Writing was heard of in *Europe*, and the *French* Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* ſent his Maſter about the Year 1670, ſeveral Volumes written in this Way four hundred Years ago, by a *Vizir* of the *Sultan* of *Khoraſſan*.

As to Annals, they have Works in that Form of great Accuracy, and of vaſt Extent. Thoſe of *Perſia* make two hundred Volumes, and I am well aſſured, that the Annals of *China* are of the ſame Bulk; but then they are an Abridgment only, for thoſe called the Royal Annals of *China* make five hundred Volumes. And there is a general Hiſtory of the *Tartars*, which is ſaid to have been examined by a hundred learned Men, divided into five Parts, each containing twenty Volumes. It muſt however be allowed, that the want of Printing, and the exceſſive Price of Manuſcripts, render Libraries very thin in *Mohammedan* Countries, that is in Compariſon of ours; yet their Libraries are more comprehenſive then they ſeem, ſince they contain no variety of Editions, much leſs Duplicates of the ſame Book. However in Royal Libraries, and thoſe collected by Men in high Station, and of great Fortune, there are noble Collections. The Royal Library at *Fez*, contains thirty thouſand Volumes, of which many noble *Moors* have Catalogues. I need ſay the leſs on this Matter, becauſe I underſtand there is a learned Man in *Europe*, who is about to publiſh a Treatiſe expreſly on this Subject, which will be very curious and entertaining.

As to Chronology and Geography, thoſe neceſſary Lights to Hiſtory, our *Weſtern* Authors have ſo habituated themſelves to ſpeak with the utmoſt Contempt of the Abilities of *Eaſtern* Writers in reſpect to them, that it may be dangerous to endeavour the Removal of ſo old and ſo univerſal an Error. But as it is an Error, I will venture to remove it, by affirming, that there are as exact Geographical Deſcriptions in the *Arabick* Tongue as in any other whatſoever; and why ſhould

there

there not? Did we not recover *Ptolemy* from thence? For want of ſtudying theſe Geographers, we are miſerably deceived, and while we laugh at the Ignorance of the Oriental Nations, it is only their Ignorance of our Ignorance, that hinders them from deriding us. For that they have better Accounts of their own Countries than we have, that the Deſcription and Hiſtory of every little Kingdom ſwallowed up long ago in the *Eaſt*, ſtill ſubſiſts in their Libraries, is a Fact that cannot be queſtioned. And as to Chronology, there are *Arabian* and *Perſian* Authors, who have written very learnedly on all the Æras that have been in Uſe among the Nations of the *Eaſt*. Nay, I have ſeen a *Perſian* Chronicle, in which the Reigns of the Princes before *Mohammed*, or rather before *Omar*, are computed by Days, and a Method propoſed for reducing the Æra of the *Hegira*, to that of *Iſdegerd*.

But that I may not ſeem to be as much prejudiced in Favour of the Oriental Nations, as ſome are againſt them, I will admit that many of the *Turkiſh* Men of the Law are very ignorant, and ſo are moſt of the *Grandees*; the Profeſſors of Aſtrology and the occult Sciences are alſo meer Blockheads; but then, have theſe ſort of People no Brethren elſewhere? Are all Men of the *Robe* in *Europe Solomons*? All Men of Quality Men of Letters? All Figure-Caſters Men of Parts and Probity? If not, what does the Ignorance of theſe ſort of Men in the *Eaſt* prove? Surely, nothing againſt the Learning of others, which is what I ſpeak of.

As to Numbers, we ought in Conſcience to allow the *Arabians* a competent Knowledge in them; becauſe we have borrowed our very Figures from them. But beſides

beſides the common Doctrine of Arithmetic, they are extremely well acquainted with that moſt curious Science, which we call *Algebra*, tho' I think not very properly; becauſe this is pure *Arabick*, and the *Arabians* never call that Science ſo, but conſtantly uſe this Form of Expreſſion, *Al Gebr ou Al Mocabelah*, i. e. *Computation by Compariſon*; for *Mocabelah* ſignifies Oppoſition, or comparing, and every Body knows that this is the moſt eſſential part of that Science. When this Science was firſt known in *Europe*, or to ſpeak more accurately, was recovered by the *Europeans*; the common Opinion was, that this Method of computing had for its Author *Geber*, whom the *Arabians* call *Giafar*, and thence came our Appellation. But as this Notion was abſolutely without Foundation, as the very Compoſition of our own Word ſhews to a Perſon moderately skill'd in *Arabick*, ſo 'tis but reaſonable that this Error ſhould be removed, and tho' I do not plead for changing the Name of this Science, yet I cannot help wiſhing that this Appellation ſhould be univerſally underſtood. The *Perſians* have been remarkably careful in the Cultivation of this Branch of Knowledge, there being in their Language as well as in the *Arabick*, both in Proſe and in Verſe, a vaſt Variety of Works relating to analitical Computation. I cannot however deny, that the *Eaſtern* Sages entertain ſome groſs Miſtakes about this Science, and that they have miſapplyed it ſtrangely. For Example, they attribute the Invention of this Art to *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Fame is very great in the *Eaſt*, and of whoſe Works they have a far better Collection than we. Yet in this they ſpeak without Foundation, for *Algebra* was certainly deviſed by *Diophantus* of *Alexandria*

dria, who lived in the ſecond Century, and whoſe Works both the *Arabians* and *Perſians* have in their own Language. As to the wrong Uſe they make of this Science, it is the ſame which they make of all Sciences, that is, they would fain convert it into a ſort of Divination. The very Piece they aſcribe to *Ariſtotle* is written in this Stile, and bears the Form of a Letter to his Diſciple, acquainting him with the Method of Divining by Numbers, which Army would be victorious in Battle. A miſerable Fall this! and altogether unworthy of that great Genius on whom they would Father it. But perhaps I have been already too long upon ſo dry a Matter, for which I have no other Excuſe, than that Men generally fancy they may be allowed to talk much on a Subject which they have ſtudied much. Let me now ſpeak of the preſent State of Phyſic in *Egypt*, and ſo conclude this Diſcourſe.

I have before ſpoken in general of the ancient and preſent State of Profeſſors of Phyſick in *Egypt*; I have alſo expatiated on the Seaſons and different Temperaments of Air in this Country, but as my Intention is to treat this Subject more ſtrictly here, I will reſume a few Particulars with reſpect to the latter, and alſo add not a few to what I have ſaid of the former. The Air of *Egypt* conſidered Phyſically, is hot, dry, unequal, and in ſome Months nitrous and chilly. In the extreme Heats of Summer, the Inhabitants have recourſe to variety of Inventions, for the procuring cool Air, in which they are wonderfully ſucceſsful; tho' ſometimes to their Prejudice. The North Winds which blow, as I have elſewhere ſhewn, ſuddenly and incertainly in the hotteſt Seaſons, are received with too great Avidity,

and

and with too little Precaution, by a People half burnt by the raging Heat of the Seaſon. As there is a prodigious mixture of Nations in this Country, it follows from thence, that their Habit, Temper, and manner of living, cannot in a Phyſical Senſe, be very exactly deſcribed. For Inſtance, in *Cairo* one may eaſily reckon up between twenty and thirty different Nations, ſuch as *Egyptians*, *Arabs*, *Abyſſines*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Greeks*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Hungarians*, *Sclavonians*, *Ruſſians*, *Moors*, &c. We may however make a new Diviſion of the Inhabitants of this Country, ſo as to ſerve our Purpoſe tollerably well. In the firſt Place let us reckon thoſe who inhabit Cities and great Towns; theſe lead indolent, eaſy, and luxurious Lives, affect a moiſt cooling Diet, drink cool Liquors in abundance, and bath often, hence they are generally ſpeaking, extremely fat, ſome monſtrouſly ſo; have weak, cold Stomachs, are ſubject to Ruptures, Dropſies, and Fluxes, and are ſeldom without Rheums, Defluxions on the Breaſt and Lungs, and other ſuch like Diſtempers, which are exceedingly increaſed by the exceſſive Uſe of Women. The ſecond ſort are the *Arabs*, who by keeping ſtrictly to the Cuſtoms of their own Country and Nation, eſcape many, if not moſt of theſe Diſeaſes, and are of a quite different Temperament, that is have ſpare and hectic Conſtitutions. The third ſort are the Villagers or Peaſants, a Race of laborious, hardy People, who endure all Seaſons, and all Weathers, eat little, work much, are of a dark Sun-burnt Complexion, and are ſo ſeldom the Objects of a Phyſician's Care, that it is hard to ſay what their Conſtitutions are, farther than as they are repreſented by the foregoing Deſcription.

THIS Account will ſerve well enough to ſhew how People come to be ſick, unhealthy, and ſhort lived; but as many of the *Egyptians* eſcape all theſe Evils, and attain extreme old Age, it is neceſſary that this alſo ſhould be accounted for, at leaſt as far as it may be. All the ancient Hiſtorians, and not a few modern Travellers aſſure us, that the *Egyptians* live long, and indeed the Fact is indubitable, but then we muſt admit of proper Diſtinctions. The native *Egyptians*, the *Arabs*, and the Peaſants are long lived, together with ſuch as are pretty careful of their Health, of which there are ſeveral Cauſes, (amongſt which however the Air muſt never be reckoned,) but the principal Cauſe is Temperance. In *Egypt* few People eat much Fleſh, and the Fleſh they do eat, is either Veal, Mutton, or Fowls; they are likewiſe no Drinkers of ſtrong Liquors, and are extremely careful in preſerving a calm and quiet State of Mind. This may ſeem not very conſiſtent with what I ſaid of their Luxury, but that is not my Fault, the general Intemperance of the Northern and Weſtern Parts of *Europe* give the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries a falſe Idea of Luxury, which is found in many Things beſides eating and drinking, ſuch as in Habit, Attendance, Baths for Pleaſure, Perfumes, and a thouſand other Things diſcoverable by human Invention, when turn'd to ſo unworthy a Purſuit. With reſpect to theſe Things the *Egyptians* are luxurious, nor are they altogether free from it in Point of Diet; for they are careful in gratifying their Taſtes, but not immoderate in the uſe of what they like.

OUR Accounts of *Egypt* always ſpeak of the Plague as a Diſeaſe common in *Egypt*, and ſo indeed it is, for

It viſits the Inhabitants once a Year punctually, and ſometimes commits great Havock; of which more particularly hereafter. But beſides the Plague, the Inhabitants are viſited by peſtilential Fevers, which are mortal in twenty-four Hours; young People eſpecially at *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, are in Danger every Summer from a malignant kind of Small-Pox which rages exceſſively. The Leproſy is alſo a common Diſtemper, eſpecially among the meaner ſort of People, occaſioned by their Meat and Drink. They have in this Country a ſort of fat, ſalt, half rotten Cheeſe, which both on Account of its cheapneſs and of its Reliſh, is much eaten by the ordinary Peaſants, who likewiſe take up with Greens, Roots, and Pulſe, as well as with Fleſh not in Perfection, and in the Summer Months when the *Nile* is low, are conſtrained to uſe other Water, which is not only unwholeſome by Compariſon with the *Nile*, but perhaps the moſt unwholeſome in the World. In the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, and even in the City itſelf, Numbers are afflicted with a kind of Leproſy, which is properly an *Elephantiaſis*, whereby from their Hips downwards they are ſwell'd in ſuch a manner, as to loſe the Form of their Limbs, as well as the Uſe of them, and inſtead of Legs and Feet, they are ſupported by ſhapeleſs Pillars, like the Legs of Elephants; yet is this extraordinary Swelling without Pain. All kinds of Ruptures, and ſome of them equally hideous and painful, are very frequent, and ſo is the Gout, the Gravel, and the Stone, obſtructions, and Inflammations in the Bowels, and all the Diſeaſes of which the Head and Eyes are capable. But of theſe I forbear to ſpeak particularly, becauſe I do not know that they differ much from

from the ſame ſort of Diſeaſes in *Europe*; and becauſe I am willing to ſpeak diffuſely of the Plague, which I have ſaid, conſtantly viſits *Egypt*, and of which, tho' our Authors ſpeak much, yet I think little hath hitherto been ſaid accurately about it.

THIS grievous and deſtructive Malady, tho' it be much ſtrengthened and encreaſed by the Heat of the Air in *Egypt*, is ſeldom or never bred there; ſo that tho' it may be ſtiled *endemial* and *epidemic* in *Egypt*, yet it cannot be called *indigenous*, ſince it is certainly derived either from *Greece* or *Syria*, on the one Side, or from *Barbary* or *Libya* on the other; and theſe Plagues are very different. The Plague when it comes from *Greece* ſeizes many, but its Symptoms are mild, and there are but a few to whom it proves mortal; the Plague from *Syria* is more fatal, for tho' few are ſeized thereby, yet more die than in the former Caſe; but when the Plague comes from *Barbary*, or *Libya*, it lays all *Cairo* waſte, preying on all Degrees of People with grievous and prodigious Symptoms, which moſtly terminate in Death, ſo that few who are ſtruck therewith, preſerve either Hope or Reaſon. When the Plague comes early in the Year, that is in the Months of *September* or *October*, it does moſt Miſchief, and continues longeſt; but when it is late in the Seaſon before it viſits *Cairo*, it does not ſpread ſo exceſſively, or do ſo much Miſchief. But whenever it comes, or of whatſoever ſort it be, the riſing of the *Nile* delivers the People at once, not only from the Diſeaſe, but from all Apprehenſions of it. Seven Months therefore is the Circle of its Reign, in which if we may believe what the Inhabitants of *Cairo* unanimouſly aſſert, it hath ſometimes carried off half a Million of

Perſons; but this is very rare, and if ſeventy thouſand die in a Year of that Diſtemper, it is held to be a very great Mortality.

Two Things there are which I think not eaſily, if they are at all to be accounted for, and that is, the coming and the going of the Plague, both of which are Facts ſo thoroughly aſſerted, that no Man in his right Senſes pretends to doubt of them. That the Plague is propagated in, and transferr'd from Place to Place by the Air, ſeems to be a Thing out of Diſpute, but how it is generated therein, I muſt confeſs I cannot ſay. Thoſe who have lived at *Conſtantinople* affirm, that it is always more or leſs in that City, and the common Opinion in *Egypt* is, that the Plague is always in ſome Part or other of *Barbary*; which if true, one might with ſome Colour of Reaſon ſuggeſt, that the Wind blowing long from either of theſe Quarters, might bring along with it the infected Air, which once ſuck'd in, might give a beginning to the Diſeaſe in *Egypt*, where it muſt be kept up and continued by the ſtifling Heat of the Summer Months, which tho' not ſufficient to produce, may be very capable of circulating and ſpreading the Diſeaſe, and of heightening the Degree of the Infection. The ſtopping of the Plague, or rather the entire Ceſſation thereof, is a Thing ſtill more perplexed, becauſe it happens ſuddenly, on the firſt riſing of the Waters of the *Nile*, and when the North Winds do but begin to blow. However I will offer ſomething on this Head too, which if it be not perfectly reaſonable, yet may provoke ſome more knowing Man to confute it, and eſtabliſh ſomething better in its Room. Experience hath juſtified what Men at firſt, perhaps from Fancy rather than Reaſon,

ſon, took for certain, that Plenty of running Water renders Places wholeſome, the Reaſon of this I conceive to be the frequent Change of Air that muſt neceſſarily happen in ſuch a Place, for the one Fluid ſuſtaining the other, they both move at once; and therefore I apprehend, that running Water ſupplies in ſome Meaſure the Place of Wind in purifying the Air. Now it is certain, that while the Plague continues in *Egypt*, the *Nile* runs very ſlowly, and at laſt ſcarce runs at all. But when its Waters begin to ſwell, which happens by the Supplies they receive from *Ethiopia*, I conceive they bring down with them freſh Air, which is diſperſed through the Country at the ſame Time that the former infectious Air is bruſhed off by the blowing of the North Wind. I might offer in Support of this Opinion, that wonderful Change that then happens with reſpect to the Cloaths, Goods, and Domeſtick Utenſils of Perſons infected, which are inſtantly made Uſe of without any ill Conſequences following thereupon, which I think can have no other Cauſe then the entire Alteration of the Air, now render'd incapable of ſpreading Infection.

By this Remark I have been put in Mind of a Circumſtance of very great Importance, and that is, the Means made Uſe of by the *Mohammedan* Inhabitants of *Egypt*, to ſpread, to propagate, and ſupport the Plague, if I may ſo term their Obſtinacy in ſhewing a Zeal without Knowledge for their Law. This they do not only by converſing freely with ſuch as have Plague Sores upon them, but by putting on their Garments as ſoon as they are expired, and even ſelling theſe together with their Moveables publickly, and thereby circulating the

Infection throughout the whole Place, all which flows from an Opinion, that God having pre-determined the Time of a Man's Death, all Precautions are alike fruitleſs and ridiculous, from which Notion, the bulk of the People are not to be weaned either by Reaſon or Experience. From the Diſeaſes let us now paſs to the Phyſicians.

THERE are in *Egypt* many Profeſſors of the different Branches of Phyſic, of both Sexes; many Occuliſts, Men who make it their Buſineſs to bleed and ſcarify, and indeed all theſe are very dextrous in their Way; but for a regular Phyſician, one who has made the whole Body of the healing Science his Study, and fortified his Reading by compleat Obſervation, there are none ſuch in *Egypt*, if we except thoſe who come thither from *Europe*. The *Egyptians* are great Takers of Medicines, as well in good Health as when they are ſick, ſome Things they chew for a ſweet Breath; they uſe Electuaries for curing Crudities in the Stomach; they have Syrups and Confections, which anſwer divers Ends, but above all, they are great Takers of Opium, and other Drugs of that ſort, in Order to promote an exhilerating Senſation, in which ſome *Europeans* have imitated them, but with little Reaſon, and not much to their Satisfaction; for they have found at laſt the Neceſſity of abandoning Opium, from the Accidents which follow from their not having it by them at the accuſtomed Time of their taking it, which tho' it rarely happens, yet by being miſlaid, or by twenty other Accidents, it may happen to any Man, and then his Life is immediately in Danger, he is ſurpriz'd with Fits, with Convulſions, Vomiting, and ſuch a mighty Depreſſion of the

Spirits,

Spirits, that nothing can be more frightful, or more alarming, than to ſee a Perſon in ſuch a Condition. But it may be enquired, how ſince ſuch Symptoms follow the Neglect of it in a ſingle Doſe, Men ever find the Method of leaving it entirely? To which I anſwer, that this is not to be done but with Circumſpection; for firſt of all the accuſtomed Doſe is abated, which that it may give the leſs Pain, is in ſome Meaſure ſupplyed to the Patient, by adding to the reduced Doſe a Glaſs of generous Wine. The Quantity of Wine is encreaſed as the Quantity of Opium is diminiſhed, till at length the Perſon is brought to drink at his accuſtomed Time pure Wine, without any Inconvenience. Afterwards the Wine is decreaſed in Quantity, ſo that in ſix Months it may be left off as well as the Opium, and Nature left to perform what was before the Effect of Art; for what a Man does who has taken Opium, is like what a Puppet may be made to do by Clock-work, it aſtoniſhes the ignorant, but Men of Senſe have no Opinion of it.

The *Egyptian* Phyſicians bleed very copiouſly almoſt for all Diſeaſes, frequently without any Diſeaſe at all, and this they do without diſtinction of Age or Sex, which certainly produces a great deal of Miſchief, and I make no Queſtion that it heightens to a dangerous Degree, many of the Diſorders which it is made Uſe of to abate. The Practice in this Caſe is not more deſtructive than the Principle on which it is grounded is ridiculous; for theſe Dealers in Medicine having as I ſaid before, no comprehenſive Knowledge of the Art they profeſs, aſſign ſuch Cauſes for Diſeaſes as will beſt ſatisfy the People. They pretend therefore, that all the Water of

the *Nile*, which a Man receives into his Body, becomes Blood; and this they ſay hath been the Caſe ever ſince *Moſes* changed the Water of that River into Blood. But tho' they may bleed too much, and certainly do it often without any true Reaſon, yet it muſt be owned, that they do it more dexterouſly, and to better Purpoſe than we do in *Europe*. For inſtance, they open more Veins than we do. Where there is an intenſe Head-ach, they bleed in the Forehead, and in the Noſe, and thereby frequently cure the Patient upon the Spot. They bleed likewiſe on the Wriſt, behind the Ears, in the Neck, *&c.* But their great Skill lies in opening of Arteries, which they do frequently, and very ſucceſsfully, in all Parts of the Body, and without any of thoſe Symptoms which attend the accidental pricking theſe Veſſels in our Northern Climates. They likewiſe cup and ſcarify very dexterouſly; ſo that I am apt to think, that as they have certainly forgot and loſt the Theory of the Antients, they yet as certainly preſerve the Methods in Uſe in thoſe Days, which ought to give us higher Ideas of the practical Skill of the old Phyſicians than we are apt to entertain; which whether it ariſes from Envy towards them, or Vanity in our ſelves, I pretend not to determine.

I MUST not omit, now I am ſpeaking of the ſingular Operations performed by the *Egyptian* Surgeons, if I may ſo call them, an odd Way of extracting Stones out of the Bladder, which, as I never heard of in *Europe*, ſo I have Reaſon to think it has never been practiſed there. This is a Buſineſs by it ſelf, and thoſe who are ſkillful therein get a great deal of Money, for the Stone is a common Diſtemper, not only amongſt the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*,

Chriſtians, but amongſt the *Turks* and native *Egyptians*; and it is eaſy to conceive, that thoſe who are troubled therewith are content to purchaſe Eaſe almoſt at any Price, eſpecially where there is no cutting in the Operation. This the *Egyptian* Artiſt performs thus. He brings two or three ſmall Tubes of different Sizes, which fit one in another like the Pieces in a Hautboy. They are compoſed of a cartilaginous Subſtance, which is extremely capable of Extenſion. One of theſe, which is the largeſt, he introduces through the urinary Paſſage to the Neck of the Bladder, then paſſing the Finger of his Left Hand into the *Anus*, he puſhes the Stone towards the Neck of the Bladder; when this is done, he takes the other End of the Pipe in his Mouth, and by blowing with all his Force wonderfully dilates the Paſſage, 'till finding the Stone at the Mouth of the Tube, he draws up his Breath at once, and having receiv'd it into his Pipe, he ſlips down his Hand, and ſecures it thereby from returning into the Bladder; then fitting another of his Pipes to the End of that which he had before uſed, he draws the Stone through the *Penis*, 'till he is able to extract it either with his Finger or an Inſtrument. How incredible ſoever this may ſeem, and I know it will appear incredible to thoſe who believe themſelves beſt Judges in theſe Matters, yet the Fact is certain, and I could relate much more concerning it, but that I think this ſufficient to thoſe who will believe it, and to thoſe who will not, adding any thing more would only ſerve to excite farther Contempt.

In the Dropſy they cut very boldly, and often eaſe the Patient, nay, and ſometimes cure him; but then it muſt likewiſe be owned, that Inſtances are not infrequent where

where Gangreens have followed upon this Operation, in part owing perhaps to the Unskillfulness of the Operator, and in part to the Obstinacy of the Patient: For as in *Spain* no sick Person will be restrained from high season'd Hashes, so in *Egypt* Men will rather bear any thing than be interdicted cool Liquors.

This Humour of theirs, which seems at first sight so effeminate, is in truth the Source of their bearing with wonderful Patience such Operations as would terrify People almost out of their Wits in any other Place. For instance, in the Gout, and other Diseases, nothing is more common in *Egypt* than to suffer the Part afflicted to be burnt, not by any Potential, but by an actual Cautery; which Operation is performed after the following Manner. The Patient being in Bed, the Person who undertakes the Cure rolls up a Piece of Cotton Cloth in the Form of a Pyramid, leaving a spiracle or Air-hole in the middle; this Piece of Cloth, thus rolled up, being set on fire, is placed on the Member affected, and there it is suffer'd to remain till it is consumed to Ashes. By this Means a running Wound or Ulcer is formed, which is kept open as long as may be, and by this means the Patient is very frequently cured, when all other Methods have failed. This they frequently practise for almost all Diseases. For the Head-ach they burn the Temples, and behind the Ears. The *Lumbago* they cure by burning on the Loins. The Dropsy, by raising an Ulcer on the Belly. The Sciatica, by burning on the Hip; and the Gout, by burning above and below the Joint on which it fixes. It is not necessary for me to enquire whether the Cures that certainly follow this uncouth Manner of Proceeding ought to be attributed to the

the drying up of the Humours by the Operation it ſelf, or to the draining them off by keeping the Ulcer open; perhaps it is ſerviceable both Ways. However, it muſt be owned, that in ſome chronical Diſtempers, where the Patients have been quite worn out, and the Wits of our Phyſicians abſolutely at a Stand, this *Egyptian* Remedy hath been try'd with wonderful and unexpected Succeſs. But then it is worthy of Remark, that this, and the reſt of their Operations, always ſucceed beſt under the Direction of ſome *Italian* or *French* Phyſician, which I conceive to be owing not ſo much to their Skill in Phyſick, as to their Knowledge in Anatomy, wherein moſt of the *Egyptian* Operators are very indifferently verſed, though one would think quite the contrary, from their finding and opening the ſmalleſt Veins with incomparable Eaſe and Dexterity: But this Knowledge they have by Tradition, and their Adroitneſs comes by Practice; ſo that what I have advanced cannot be looked upon as incredible or improbable.

I MIGHT add to this Diſcourſe Accounts of the *Egyptian* Preparations for ſtimulating Luſt, for appeaſing Care, and for delighting the Mind by pleaſant Dreams; but I think the mentioning of them ſufficient to ſhew that they do not deſerve to be particularly treated of, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of them, or of thoſe who contrive and exhibit them. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to give a general Idea of the preſent State of Learning in this Country, which is all I propoſe to give, and therefore my Taſk being ended, I willingly lay down my Pen.

IT is now Time to return to my own Affairs, and to the Reaſons which led us to a precipitate Return into *Europe*,

Europe, after having render'd a Country not very agreeable to Strangers, almoſt as eaſy to us as to its natural Inhabitants. In the Month of *Auguſt*, we received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherſtone*, full of very good News, but with an Intimation, that our Preſence at *Leghorn* might be as uſeful to us, or rather more ſo, than a longer Reſidence in *Africk*. In a private Letter to me, Mr. *Fetherſtone* informed me that *Johnſon* had ſold in *France* a little Collection which I had ſent him of valuable Stones, for two thouſand five hundred Crowns, which was a fifth Part more than I expected; and he likewiſe hinted, that if I could bring more of theſe Stones into *Europe*, they would be more beneficial than Curioſities, on account of various Royal Marriages which were then talked of. Theſe Letters did not determine either Mr. *Perez*, or my ſelf, to be very haſty in our Motions; on the contrary, we reſolved to make a very large Collection before our Return to *Italy*, eſpecially of Medals, which we purchaſed very cheap, and of Manuſcripts, and figured Gems, which we knew to be much valued in *Europe*, by the Perſons ſent from *France* and *Italy* to collect them, of whoſe Errands we had very particular Accounts; though, for many Reaſons, we cautiouſly avoided any perſonal Correſpondence with them. In three Weeks after the Receipt of Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Letter, I had a Meſſage from the *Venetian* Conſul, directing me to attend him the next Morning, and, to my Surprize and Concern, was informed that he had two large Boxes which were directed to be put into my Hands by his Correſpondent at *Roſetta*, together with a Letter, which notified the Death of my good Friend Dr. *Salviati*, who left me his Papers, ſome Curioſities he had collected

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in *Egypt*, and ſeveral other Things of Value. I thanked the Conſul for his Care and Goodneſs on this as well as on many other Occaſions. He received my Compliments with the utmoſt Civility, and told me, that he was well acquainted with the ſincere Eſteem I had always ſhewn for the Deceaſed, who was his particular Friend; and that when I inclined to return into *Europe*, he would charge me with a private Commiſſion relating to his own Affairs. I told him, that I had already Thoughts of returning into *Italy*, and was actually diſpoſing my Affairs ſo as to be able to depart very ſoon. He ſaid his Buſineſs did not require any great Diſpatch, and that he ſhould be glad I would give him a Week or ten Day's Notice.

On my Return home, I found another Packet from Mr. *Fetherſtone*, the Contents of which were not very material, with reſpect to me; but there came incloſed a Letter to Mr. *Perez*, which made a very great Impreſſion upon him, and engaged him to be more expeditious than he intended in his Return to *Europe*. As in reſpect to his own Concerns he was a Man of a reſerved Temper, I could never be perfectly informed of the Contents of this Letter, the utmoſt I could learn by putting together broken Expreſſions and diſtant Diſcourſes was this, that his Uncle, who had been impriſoned by the Inquiſition, had, by dint of Intereſt, eſcaped; and the Court finding it neceſſary to intruſt him with Remittances into *Flanders*, he was left more at Liberty than Men uſually are who have been once under the Diſpleaſure of the Holy Office. He did not fail to make a proper Uſe of this Indulgence, for having by large Sums given to Convents, Fraternities, and other Catholick Inſtitutions,

Inſtitutions, confirmed the Prieſthood in a good Opinion of him, he at laſt found Means to retire to *Bayonne*, after remitting into *France*, *Holland*, and the *French Flanders*, an immenſe Sum of Money, of which he was poſſeſſed when he was firſt ſeized, and which he had found Means to ſecret in ſpite of all the Vigilance of the Inquiſitors. This Event made a great Alteration in the Affairs of Mr. *Perez*, not only on account of his near Relation to this Perſon, but by reaſon of his having a conſiderable Part of his Fortune in his Hands; which he was now in a Condition to reſtore. What this Proportion was, either of Mr. *Perez's*, or of his Uncle's Subſtance, I never knew; but I have Reaſon to think, that it was very conſiderable from Mr. *Perez's* Conduct. His Reſervedneſs was not on Account of himſelf, but of his Relations, of whom he had many in *Spain* and *Portugal*, whoſe Safety depended entirely on his Taciturnity. After meditating a Day or two upon this Letter, he told me that he was determined to go immediately to *France*, when an Opportunity ſhould offer; that as to his Effects, he would leave them to my Care, and that on my ſettling a general Account with Mr. *Fetherſtone*, he would let me know his Sentiments farther. In the mean time he became very grave and thoughtful, ſpoke little, affected to be alone, and ſeem'd to be uneaſy at our longer Stay in *Egypt*.

THIS induced me to make all the Haſte I could in ſettling Things for our Return; which having at laſt performed, I went to wait upon the *Venetian* Conſul, and to receive his Commands. They related to the Sale of ſome Jewels which he had already ſent to *Venice*, and about which an Agent from a great *Italian* Prince had

had given himſelf a good deal of Trouble. The Conſul had ſome Suſpicions which he communicated to me, directed me how I ſhould be ſatisfied, and at the ſame time put into my Hands an Order to his Correſpondent to follow in this Affair the Directions he ſhould receive from me. As I look'd upon my ſelf to be extremely honoured by this Mark of the Conſul's Favour and Confidence, ſo I was no leſs obliged to him for a Preſent he made me of a Cabinet of Curioſities at my Departure, and the Pains he took in recommending me to the Captain of the Ship in which I returned to *Italy*. But of theſe Things hereafter. At our leaving *Cairo*, *Antonio*, who had ſerved us long and faithfully, engaged himſelf ſo far in an amorous Intrigue as to make it his Choice to ſtay behind, and to enter into the Service of the *French* Conſul. Mr. *Perez* expreſſed ſome Surprize at this, having been extremely kind to him, and intending him much greater Favours. At firſt we could not penetrate his Reaſons, but before we left *Roſetta*, we learned that he had married a *Greek* Wench; ſo that in all Conditions of Life it ſeems Love hath for a Time a ſtronger Influence than Intereſt.

We arrived at *Roſetta* in the Beginning of *November*, and the firſt Place I went to was the Patron's of my Friend *Salviati*, to return them Thanks perſonally, as I had already done by Letter, for their Care and Exactneſs in fulfilling that good Man's Will. They told me, that though he had had conſiderable Opportunities of getting Money, yet he did not die worth above four hundred Sequins, which he had left to them to be diſtributed in Charity; and which they put into the Hands of the Fathers of Mercy, to be employ'd in the Redempti-

demption of Chriſtian Captives, adding a hundred Sequins of their own. I cannot, on this Occaſion, avoid ſetting down what I have often obſerved, that there is in eminent Merchants a greater Fund of Juſtice, Honour and Beneficence, than there is in almoſt any other kind of People; at the ſame time that of all others they ſpeak leaſt of theſe Things, but content themſelves with that Satisfaction which is the Reſult of doing worthy Actions, and which is infinitely more grateful, as well as leſs diſturbing to a wiſe Man, than the Acclamations of a Multitude. After three Weeks Stay at *Roſetta*, Mr. *Perez* found an Opportunity of going directly to *Marſeilles*, which he eagerly embraced, promiſing, that on his Arrival he would write to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, and acquaint him either with the Time of his returning to *Leghorn*, or of any other Meaſures he ſhould find it neceſſary to take. He took his Leave of me with all imaginable Teſtimonies of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip, preſenting me with a very fine Ruby ſet with Diamonds; in return I gave him a gold Tobacco Box, which was very curiouſly wrought, and which had been intended for the *Baſhaw* of *Cairo*, as a Preſent by a *French* Merchant; who dying ſuddenly, I bought it of his Nephew.

I was under a Neceſſity of remaining a Fortnight longer at this Place, during which Time, an *Armenian* Merchant, whom I had firſt ſeen at *Leghorn*, and whoſe Name was *Ephraim Sadi*, had well nigh perſuaded me to think of going to the *Indies*. He had been there twice, and was immenſely rich; yet neither the Fatigues he had endured, the Perils he had run through, or the Wealth he had acquired, could cure him of that Itch of Travelling which ſo unaccountably poſſeſſes the Mind

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of a Man, and urges him to wander for the meer Sake of Wandering, and to fly that Quiet, to procure which is the ſole reaſonable Cauſe for Travel. This Signior *Ephraim* was a Man of wonderful Genius; he ſpoke nine Languages perfectly, among which were *Engliſh* and *Low Dutch*. He had the moſt extenſive Idea of Traffick of any Man I ever converſed with, and a Generoſity in dealing, which, wherever he came, ſecured him a Preference in every Thing. He was perfectly ſkill'd in Jewels, and in all the Trades relating to them; he underſtood the cutting and ſetting them to the utmoſt Nicety, and had ſo many Secrets for helping their Defects, and heightning their Luſtre, that tho' I had been now for many Years converſant in theſe Things, yet I found my ſelf, in reſpect to him, Mr. *Pucci*'s Secret excepted, a perfect Novice. He was affable, communicative, ſincere, beneficent, and the moſt amiable Man in the World, if he could ever have thought of ſtaying in a Place. He was now going to *Leghorn*; he propoſed travelling from thence by Land into *France*; then, after viſiting *Amſterdam* and *Bruſſels*, he thought of going to *London*; from thence by Sea to *Portugal*; whence he was to ſail to *Goa*, as ſoon as an Opportunity ſhould offer: And all this he propoſed to do in the Compaſs of three Years, being then about fifty-one, and having, as he aſſured me, never felt any Sickneſs, except now and then ſome wandering Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, which he cured by bathing, and anointing with warm Oils.

I COULD not forbear ſometimes oppoſing a little his favourite Humour of Travelling, by hinting, that it took off all Love for our native Country; that it ſeem'd

repugnant to the Nature of Man, that it kept the Spirits in a continual Flutter, and that above all things it expoſed Men to the Danger of immature and unprovided Deaths. He was always mightily pleaſed to have an Opportunity of diſplaying his Eloquence on this Subject. He laughed at the Love of one's Country, as an idle and narrow Notion. One God, ſaid he, created us all; we come the ſame Way into the World; we have the ſame Buſineſs in the World, and when we go out of it we are to account before the ſame Judge: All Men therefore are Brethren, and the World only is every Man's Country. For my part, ſaid he, I have ſeven People conſtantly in my Family; my Phyſician, who is a *Spaniſh Jew*; my Steward, a *Greek*; my Secretary, an *Italian*; my two Footmen, *Swiſs*; my Cook, a *Frenchman*; and my Groom, a Native of *Lorrain*. We live all together very happily, and we account our ſelves all Countrymen. As to the Nature of Man, ſaid he, there can be no Repugnancy to it in Travelling, any more than in any other Action; beſides, there is nothing more various than the Nature of Man, and therefore every Man has a Right to do what is agreeable to him, provided it be innocent to others. As to the Hurry of Spirits, it is, continued he, a Diſtemper of the Mind, and wherever it ſeizes a Man, it ſeizes him in ſome Place or other; therefore the changing of Place, or remaining in the ſame Place, hath nothing to do with this, for the Mind may be kept eaſy and unmoved when the Body is in Motion, as well as when it is at reſt; nay, I am apt to believe, that Travelling contributes to Quiet as Motion does to Eaſe; Change of Objects, ſoothing the Soul, as the Heat reſulting from Motion, aſſwages Pain.

Pain. But in all theſe Caſes the various Tempers and Conſtitutions of Men are chiefly to be regarded. Immature and unprovided Death, added he, we ought all to fear; neither can we either by Travelling, or making long Voyages by Sea, eſcape from it; but this being ſo, it is plain we may as well die in one Country as another, or to ſpeak more like a Chriſtian, we ought not to conſider ſo much where or how we may die, as in what Frame of Mind Death ſhall find us. This depends upon ourſelves; and if we take but Care to be good Men, evil Accidents, and even a ſudden Death, will not much terrify or afflict us. Human Life is a checquer'd Tablet, which retains its Mixture of black and white, whether moved or left ſtanding.

THESE were the Arguments he uſed to juſtify his Love to Roving; and tho' it muſt be acknowledg'd that they are of ſuch a Nature as Reaſon is forced to dictate when the Imagination is too ſtrong for her, yet I confeſs they made ſome Impreſſion upon me, or, to ſpeak the Truth, I was charmed with his Magnificence, and princely Way of Living, and ſuffered my Mind to ſwell with the vain Ambition, of imitating what I ought to have pitied. But as a waking Dream led me wrong, ſo a Viſion of the Night ſet me right. It happened one Evening, after having ſate late with my Friend *Ephraim*, for we lodged in the ſame Houſe, when I retired to my own Apartment, I found my ſelf little inclined to ſleep, and as little inclined to read. I walked up and down for ſome Time without thinking, if it be poſſible, of any thing, till I found my ſelf weary on the ſudden, and ſcarce able to keep my Eyes open, when throwing off my Clothes, I got as ſoon as I could into Bed. I

had ſcarce cloſed my Eyes, before I fancy'd my Man *Johnſon* was in the Room, and that I was converſing with him as I was wont about my Affairs; to which, methought, he made me little Anſwer, but ſeem'd rather to be uneaſy that I continued this Diſcourſe. Upon this I preſs'd him, with much Warmth, to ſpeak his Sentiments, aſſuring him, that I had a great Deference for his Advice, and that I would take nothing ill he ſhould think fit to ſay to me. Upon this I thought he began to look more pleaſant, and at length addreſſed me thus. I am always, Sir, exceedingly concerned when I differ from you in Opinion, and when my Affection for your Perſon obliges me to croſs your Inclinations; however, give me Leave to ſay, that you have hitherto been guided a little too much by haſty Notions and Opinions, not quite ſo well digeſted as might have been expected from a Man of your Parts. Do not you remember, Sir, the Sentiments you had, and the Reſolutions you framed in your Voyage down the *Nile?* Can you imagine, Sir, that Providence will always extricate you out of thoſe Difficulties into which you willfully plunge your ſelf? You left *England* becauſe you was not ſafe; you left *Europe* becauſe you had a ſmall Fortune; you have nothing now to fear or to wiſh; why then would you go to the *Indies?* This *Armenian* hath no Country, and therefore he does well to look upon every one as his own; but it is not ſo with you; you ought to know this, and to make a right Uſe of it. While I fancied I was meditating on what *Johnſon* had ſaid, I awaked, but ſo confuſed and diſturbed, that I much doubted whether I retained my Senſes. I got up, addreſſed my ſelf to thoſe Means which never fail

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to calm the Spirits of Men who truſt in God, and by Morning compoſed my ſelf to a ſettled Reſolution of returning, if it was practicable, into *England*, and there leading a quiet and retired Life.

A Few Days after this, I received a Packet from the *Venetian* Conſul, acquainting me, that a Veſſel would ſhortly arrive at *Roſetta* from the *Arches*, and that upon his Letter to the Captain, which was incloſed, I might find a ſafe and commodious Paſſage to *Leghorn*. This accordingly took effect, the Veſſel arrived the ſame Week, and ſailed a few Days after, having no Paſſengers on board except Signior *Ephraim*, his Family, and my ſelf. There happen'd nothing ſingular in our Paſſage, except the Illneſs of the *Jew* Phyſician, who was ſo extremely diſorder'd with Sea-Sickneſs, that if we had not made the Port as we did, he would in all Likelihood have died. I aſſiſted him the beſt I could; but inaſmuch as he would take no Broths of our making, I knew not what to do with him till I thought of Chicken-broth, ſome of which, on ſeeing the *French* Cook cut off the Head of the Creature, and drain it thoroughly of its Blood, he, with ſome Difficulty, conſented to take which kept up his Spirits, and ſaved his Life. He was a very honeſt Man, but moſt inordinately ſuperſtitious, having with the *Jewiſh* Obſtinacy all the Punctilio of a *Spaniard*. Signior *Ephraim* depended much upon him in all Things, and with Reaſon, for he was certainly a Man of Skill in his Profeſſion, and of great Probity, for which the *Spaniſh* Jews, perhaps, as *Spaniards*, are eminently diſtinguiſhed.

On my Arrival at *Leghorn*, Mr. *Fetherſtone* hardly knew me, on Account of my having loſt much Fleſh,

and my Complexion altogether. *Johnſon* was gone to *Florence* to ſell a large Cabinet of Medals, which I afterwards underſtood was bought by a *French* Gentleman for the Chancellor of *France*. I would not ſuffer Mr. *Fetherſtone* to write to him of my Arrival, that I might have the Pleaſure of ſurpriſing him at his Return to *Leghorn*. In this I certainly acted very fooliſhly; for tho' Mr. *Fetherſtone* was ſome time before he knew me, yet *Johnſon* diſcover'd me at firſt Sight, and was ſo much amazed at this unexpected Interview, that he ſwoon'd, and was with Difficulty recovered. Thus, for the Gratification of an idle Humour, the meaneſt Pleaſure in the World, I put the Life of one of the honeſteſt Men in it to the Hazard, an Act for which I cannot eaſily forgive my ſelf.

It was not long after my Return to *Leghorn*, before, in a Converſation with Signior *Ephraim*, the Price of Jewels at that Time happen'd to become the Subject of Diſcourſe, he thereupon aſk'd me whether I had ever ſeen any that were truly excellent, and of a very large Size, adding, that he had lately ſent into *France* ſome of the beſt colour'd Stones that ever were brought into *Europe*; of which, at my Requeſt, he ſhew'd me the Models. Among theſe were ſome Saphires, blue, and white, of a very extraordinary Size, and according to his Deſcription, of uncommon Beauty; but as for the Emeralds he ſent, I judged them to be far inferior to mine; and ſo I told him. Upon this he deſired to ſee them. I ſhew'd him ſeven, reſerving the four largeſt I had for another Time. He ſaid very ingenuouſly, they were the fineſt he had ever ſeen, that is, they had the feweſt Imperfections, moſt or all of which might be taken

taken away by their being judiciouſly ſet. To cut the Matter ſhort, he told me that he had at that time ſuch a Commiſſion as would enable him to give more for theſe Stones than I could reaſonably expect, or than I could poſſibly get for them, eſpecially if I ſold them all together. He then named a Price, which he affirmed was the utmoſt he would give, and indeed it was ſuch a one as in Prudence I could not refuſe; ſo the Bargain was preſently concluded, and I had the Pleaſure of ſeeing this Point of a ſettled Fortune, which I had been ſo long purſuing, compleated in a few Hours. After this Signior *Ephraim* ſpoke to me of Diamonds, and of Rubies, but I told him that I had none worth ſhewing him, but that I had an Authority to diſpoſe of ſome that were excellent at *Venice*, if a Perſon who had bid Money for them did not come up to the Price, which by the next Poſt I ſhould ſet upon them. He ſmiled, and aſked me if the Jewels were not in the Hands of ſuch a Perſon, and if ſuch a Man had not offered Money for them. I was amazed at this, ſuppoſing that the *Venetian* Conſul at *Cairo* had ſpoke to him upon this Subject, but I was miſtaken, the Perſon at *Venice* was Signior *Ephraim*'s Agent; he told me ſo frankly, and offered to ſend a Perſon who ſhould pay the Money at *Venice*, provided I ſent an Order for the delivering the Jewels. I accordingly conſented, and Mr. *Johnſon*, notwithſtanding the Fatigue he had lately undergone, readily agreed to go with Signior *Redi*, the *Armenian*'s Secretary, in order to put an End to this Buſineſs which was of very great Concern.

I WAS afterwards informed, that Signior *Ephraim* collected all theſe Jewels for a *French* Merchant who had

been in the *Indies*, and having ſold all the Stones he brought from thence, took this Method of recruiting, and by dint of his Character, got a large Profit for himſelf, tho' he gave very high Prices, yet he would deal in nothing that was not perfect in its kind. All this was nothing to me, the quick Negotiation of ſuch important Affairs effectually ſatisfying all my Deſires, and making me richer than I thought I had any Title to be; ſo that I ſometimes doubted how I came by ſuch Sums of Money, and was amazed at the Kindneſs of Providence, knowing that I had not deſerved ſuch Things; perhaps they were given me that I might deſerve them. While Mr. *Johnſon* was gone to *Paris*, Mr. *Fetherſtone* and I employed our Time in ſettling a general Account, Mr. *Perez* having written him a Letter ſome time before my coming to *Leghorn*, deſiring it might be done as ſpeedily as poſſible, and ſuch a Valuation made of the Effects remaining, as Mr. *Fetherſtone* and I ſhould agree upon and this being done, he deſired the Account might be tranſmitted to Mr. *Abraham Lopez*, a Merchant at *Marſeilles*. Upon adjuſting all Matters, it appear'd that there was a Balance due to him of three thouſand Piſtoles, half of which Sum we remitted with the Account, and offered him the Remainder when he ſhould be pleaſed to draw for it; but inſtead of doing this, Mr. *Perez* wrote us a moſt obliging Letter, wherein, after deſiring me to take out of the Effects whatever Curioſities I might eſteem, he gave all the reſt to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, concluding his Letter with theſe Words. *God hath now reſtored to me ſo ample an Eſtate, that not to make my faithful Friends participate with me, would be an Ingratitude capable of drawing upon me another Reverſe of Fortune.*

AFTER

AFTER this we heard no more of Mr. *Perez*, and we had Reaſon to believe he did not long ſurvive his good Fortune, a Friend of his at *Genoa* having received a Letter by the ſame Poſt that we did, without ever having a ſecond, and we both writ in vain to *Marſeilles* ſeveral Times. I neglected nothing during the Abſence of Mr. *Johnſon* that might contribute to the drawing my Affairs within a very narrow Compaſs. As for Mr. *Fetherſtone* his Affairs were now very eaſy, and he ſeemed to wiſh as I did for an Opportunity of returning to *England*. However we both referr'd all Thoughts of theſe Matters, till we ſhou'd have diſpoſed of all the Curioſities we had by us, and amongſt thoſe there were upwards of 700 Medals of Gold, Silver, *&c.* We diſpoſed them in ſeveral Cabinets, together with Gems, Baſs Reliefs, and other Antiquities, with Deſcriptions in *French* and *Italian*, in preparing of which we had the Aſſiſtance of the Virtuoſi. Thus employ'd, and all along with a View of returning to *England*, it fell out that one Morning after I had been awake and reflected on ſeveral Things, I fell faſt aſleep, and dreamt exactly the ſame Dream I had at *Venice*, that is to ſay, I ſaw myſelf in a large Meadow bounded by a River on the other Side, of which I ſaw *Lucia* walking, but whereas before I was at a vaſt Diſtance from the Bridge, I ſaw myſelf now very near it, and *Lucia* on her Side ſeem'd advancing to me. When I awaked and conſidered this, I roſe with as much Alacrity and Satisfaction as if ſome great good Luck had befallen me, and I had all that Day ſuch an unuſual flow of Spirits, that every Body took Notice of it. How frail a Thing is Man? a Dream alters his Conduct, and at the Diſtance of thirty Years, he has a ſecret Pleaſure in owning his Folly.

On the Return of *Johnſon* to *Leghorn*, after the firſt Ceremonies were over, and Mr. *Fetherſtone* was withdrawn, he gave me an Account of the Succeſs of his Journey, the Delivery of the Jewels, and preſented me with a Letter from the *Venetian* Conſul, which contained a ſhort Compliment, and a Draught on a Merchant at *Leghorn*, for the Value of 300 *Sequins*, as a Compenſation for the Trouble and Expence I had been at in negotiating this Affair, which I gave Mr. *Johnſon* as a Gratification for many fatiguing Journies he had taken in my Service, tho' his Modeſty was ſo great, that it was with ſome Difficulty I prevailed upon him to accept it. Theſe Things adjuſted, I was upon the Point of calling Mr. *Fetherſtone*, when *Johnſon* ſtopt me, ſtay Sir, ſaid he, I have Buſineſs now of another Nature with you. I call'd on Mr. *Hales* to know whether he had had any farther Account of your Affairs, there with ſome Difficulty this Letter was found, which had been tranſmitted to *Geneva*, and returned from thence; ſo that to be ſure it is of an old Date, I had ſeveral Times a Mind to open it, but having conſidered better of it I deſiſted. This Letter was from *Lucia*, it contained an Account of her Brother's carrying her into *England* a kind of Priſoner, under Pretence of her eloping from her Husband. On her coming to *London*, he would not ſuffer her to ſtir abroad, but on Condition of marrying the Gentleman lately returned from the *Indies*, which ſhe abſolutely refuſed, upon which he hurried her down into *Leiceſterſhire*, to an Aunt of this Gentleman's, where ſhe was not leſs ſtrictly guarded, till at laſt ſhe took a bold Reſolution of Writing to a Juſtice of Peace a little before the Aſſizes, and incloſing a Letter

to

to the Judge, which throwing out of her Window into the *London* Road was taken up, and delivered as directed. Upon this ſhe was immediately ſet at Liberty, and retiring to her Father's Houſe in *Lincolnſhire*, found him ſtill living, but ſo childiſh, that he hardly knew her. Her Brother-in-Law and Siſter not a little incenſed againſt her by the Arts of her Brother, which afflicted her ſo much, that ſhe reſolved to come to *London* and live privately there. Theſe Tranſactions took up ſeven Months, and the Letter being tranſmitted to *Venice*, was ſent from thence to *Geneva*, where my Landlord being dead, it was according to a Direction ſent with it returned to *Venice*, where it lay till it fell thus into my Hands.

I inſtantly wrote an Anſwer according to a Direction at the Foot of this Letter, beſeeching *Lucia* to afford me a farther Account of her Affairs as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean Time I redoubled my Preparations for returning into *England* at all Events, tho' by the Way, this was a very mad Proceeding, conſidering that I ſtood out-lawed, and the *Engliſh* Court did not ſhew any great Inclination to treat Perſons in my Condition with Lenity. However Mr. *Fetherſtone* and *Johnſon* having as ſtrong a Paſſion as I for ſeeing once again their native Land, did not oppoſe me therein, relying upon my Prudence in taking Care of my own Safety. When the Time was elapſed, in which I might reaſonably have expected a Return from *London*, I grew very impatient, and at length melancholy. A thouſand Inventions occurr'd for gaining Intelligence from *England*, and were thrown aſide again as impracticable.

At length a Letter from *Lucia* arrived, which deliver'd me from this Perplexity that had wafted my Spirits more than

than all the fatiguing Journies I had taken, and all the Difficulties I had run through. This Letter informed me, that her Father being dead, ſhe was gone down to *Leiceſterſhire* to ſettle her Affairs when my Letter came, and that it had been kept for her till her Return; that her Circumſtances were now very eaſy, tho' the barbarous unkindneſs of her Relations had for two Years and a half, made her ſuffer the greateſt Difficulties; that ſhe had ſome Intereſt with the *Temple Family*, with Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Secretary of State, and the Lord *Daventry*, lately created Lord High Chancellor, ſo that ſhe made no Queſtion of procuring my Outlawry to be reverſed, if I was really determined to come to *England*. I mentioned ſomething of this to Mr. *Fetherſtone*, but he immediately ſuggeſted another Method, which was addreſſing myſelf to the Duke of *Bucks*, tho' he was at that Time on bad Terms with the Court; but he adviſed that the other Intereſt alſo ſhould be kept and made Uſe of. His Reaſons were theſe, he ſaid, that the diſcontented Party in *England* were very numerous and powerful, and that if I applied myſelf to the Miniſtry, they would not fail to cauſe ſuch Repreſentations to be made, as might poſſibly prevent the Outlawry from being reverſed; but that if I applied to the others, they would recommend the Thing to the Duke of *Monmouth*; upon which it would in all Probability be referred to the Lawyers, and then my Intereſt with the *Chancellor* and the *Secretary*, would ſtand me in great ſtead. But above all he preſſed me to get as ſtrong Recommendations as I cou'd to Sir *William Temple*, who was then in *Holland*, for as he was a Gentleman agreeable to both Parties, and had at that Time a very great

great Intereſt, there was Reaſon to believe his eſpouſing my Cauſe would effectually ſecure it Succeſs. To this I anſwered, that I had no manner of Intereſt with the Duke of *Buckingham*, that except what I learned from him, I ſcarce knew any Thing of the State of my own Country, but that however I was very anxious to ſee it again. You do not at preſent, Sir, ſaid Mr. *Fetherſtone*, want Money, and he that hath that, hath an Intereſt, or the Means of creating an Intereſt in all Courts, and in that of *England* particularly. I told him, that having been never over fond of Money, I ſhou'd not be unreaſonably tenacious of it at this Time. He ſmil'd, and made me Anſwer, he wou'd make it his Buſineſs to conſider how it might be employ'd for my Advantage. In a Day or two *Johnſon*, he, and I, being together, I asked him whether he had conſidered as he promiſed me of a Method for facilitating what we all ſo much wiſh'd, a ſafe and ſpeedy Return into our own Country. Mr. *Fetherſtone* anſwered he had, and that he wou'd be accountable for its Succeſs. *Johnſon* ſeemed to be no leſs pleaſed at this than I, for as he told me, he was not a little diffident on this Head, tho' he ſaid nothing for Fear of diſcouraging me. We then deſired Mr. *Fetherſtone* to explain himſelf upon this Point. There wants, ſaid he, but very little Explanation. You know Sir, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to me, how I procured the Favour of his Grace of *Buckingham* once before; we are now better provided, I will carry over a Cargo of Curioſities, ſome Jewels, and a little Money, and in a Month or two be aſſured that you may follow me, provided you furniſh me with Inſtructions how to cultivate that Intereſt which you ſay you have yourſelf at

that Court. All this appeared as feaſible to us as it did to him, and therefore that no Time might be loſt in the Execution of our Project, I wrote that very Night to *Lucia*, to acquaint her therewith, and we reſolved that Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſhou'd depart the very Moment we received her Anſwer. But our Meaſures received an unexpected Change in a few Days, by Means of a Letter that I received from *Lucia*; ſhe adviſed me, that two Perſons in the ſame Circumſtances with myſelf, had been pardoned at the Interceſſion of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that as ſhe was related to Mr. *Draycot*, who was his Grace's Gentleman of the Horſe, ſhe look'd upon it as a Thing certain, that if I thought it proper, ſhe cou'd ſecure an Intereſt there. Upon maturely deliberating this Propoſition, *Johnſon* offered it as his Opinion, that Mr. *Fetherſtone* ſhou'd without more ado, embark on Board a Ship ready to ſail for *England*, in order to co-operate with this Lady in ſo important an Affair. Mr. *Fetherſtone* readily came into this Motion, and the third Day after ſail'd for *England*, of which I alſo advertiſed *Lucia* by Letter. It muſt be owned, that tho' Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Care and Diligence conducted this Matter to a happy iſſue, yet our Meaſures were very precipitate, in as much as they expoſed Mr. *Fetherſtone* to ſome Hazard, and drove this Buſineſs very hard, which rather ſhou'd have been conducted with leiſure. However as it was attended with no Loſs but that of Money, I had no Occaſion to repine, neither did I, but I cou'd not help ſeeing that I had acted wrong, and therefore I note it, for tho' *Luck* may cure *Blunders*, yet it ought never to hide them.

DURING Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Abſence I had Recourſe to my old Method of diverting myſelf by digeſting my Papers, and by putting into Writing ſuch Obſervations as occ. ed to me on ſeveral Subjects. I likewiſe made a choice Collection of *Italian* Books, and of ſuch *Greek* and *Latin* Authors as had been printed at *Rome* and at *Venice*. I likewiſe conſulted the *Virtuoſi* on ſome of the many Oriental Manuſcripts I had brought over, and by theſe Arts of withdrawing from myſelf paſſed my Days with tolerable Eaſe, which otherwiſe I believe I ſhou'd not have done. One Morning when I was hard at my Studies I was informed that a ſtrange Gentleman deſired to ſpeak with me; they call'd him ſtrange, becauſe they ſaw he was juſt arrived. He proved to be a *French* Jeweller, ſent on purpoſe to know if I had or cou'd procure one Emerald more of the Size of them I had ſold to Seignior *Ephraim*. I told the Gentleman I could not, at which he ſeemed very much concerned, adding, that if I cou'd, he wou'd have given a great Price for it. I told him I had an Emerald by me which was larger than any of thoſe. Ay, Sir ſaid he, but then it muſt be foul, I told him it was not, and upon my producing it, he was ſo amazed, that he cou'd hardly ſpeak. He was himſelf a very good Judge of Stones, yet we had ſome Difficulty in ſettling the Point whether it was or was not an Emerald, in reſpect to which he inſiſted on his ſhewing it to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke, to which I wou'd by no means conſent; however I told him, if he wou'd buy it, he might then ſhew it to whom he wou'd, and that he ſhou'd depoſite the Money in a Perſon's Hands whom I wou'd name, who ſhou'd reſtore it to him if he was not contented in three

Days

Days Time. To this he wou'd have aſſented, but he had not the Money ready, not expecting to be aſked above half the Sum I inſiſted upon for this Stone. This Difficulty I preſently removed, for I conſented to take a third Part of the Money down, and two Parts in Bills, which being depoſited in the Hands of an *Engliſh* Merchant I named, the Stone ſhou'd be produced to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke. In three Days the whole Affair was adjuſted to every Bodies Satisfaction, the Grand Duke's Jeweller offering a hundred Crowns to my Chapman to quit his Bargain, which he refuſed to do, and ſo I received the third Part in Money, and Bills for the other two thirds immediately. Another Piece of unexpected good Fortune, for which I ſtood accountable to Providence.

Before I received any News from Mr. *Fetherſtone* I had another Letter from *Lucia*, purporting that my worthy Couſins having Notice of ſome Applications made for reverſing my Outlawry, were come up to Town in order to ſolicite againſt it, to prevent my filing a Bill for the Principal and Intereſt of the Mortgage on my Uncle's Eſtate. The Paſſion of going Home was ſo ſtrong upon me, that I immediately executed a general Releaſe before a Notary Publick, and tranſmitted it to *London*, where Mr. *Fetherſtone* delivered it to my Couſins, who upon this became my very good Friends, and joined heartily in doing me all the Service they cou'd, the rather I ſuppoſe, becauſe they apprehended that I was returning Home very rich. However when all came to all, and much Time and Money had been ſpent in procuring a Warrant for the Reverſe of my Outlawry, it appeared that I had never been Out-

outlawed at all. My Name was in a Liſt for that Purpoſe, and part of that Liſt were outlawed, and the Remainder were ordered to be outlawed at the next County Court, but by the Death of the Sheriff, and the removing the Under Sheriff this Order ſlept, and there was no Record of the Outlawry, and conſequently no poſſibility of reverſing it. On this Head I had no body to blame but myſelf; I had been adviſed of the Outlawry by my Uncle, I acquainted Mr. *Fetherſtone* with it, and my Couſins aſſured him, that the Thing was ſo. When it came out, as it did, the younger of my Couſins aſked Mr. *Fetherſtone* what he intended to do. I intend anſwered he, to write to him to come Home. Not ſo, ſaid my Couſin, he hath been very generous to us, and we will be juſt to him; theſe Courtiers have had his Money, why ſhould he not have a general Pardon? This was well put in, for otherwiſe I had aſſuredly come Home, and when the *Swearing Harveſt* came on, I had certainly ſtood a Chance of being put into a *Popiſh* or a *Proteſtant* Plot, if not both. In conſequence then of this juſt Obſervation a Warrant for a Pardon was obtained, of which I had Advice given me, it being ſuppoſed that I might with Security enough now return Home.

I received this Letter in the Month of *March*, and reſolved immediately to embark for *England*. On this Occaſion *Johnſon* interpoſed, he ſaid he apprehended it wou'd be better if I did not go to *England* till the Pardon was actually ſealed, that it was not impoſſible but new Difficulties might be ſtarted, and that it would be very difficult to get over any of them if I was in *England* at the Time. I was however not to be moved,

which when *Johnſon* ſaw, he made another Propoſition, it was this, that he ſhould embark with my Effects on Board a Veſſel then in the Port, and that I ſhould go by Land to *Paris*. This was ſo reaſonable that I could not but approve it. Accordingly three Days after *Johnſon* had embarked I ſet out for *France*, and travelling very leiſurely, arrived at *Paris* the 21ſt of *April*.

I wrote that very Night to *London*, and by the Return of the Poſt was acquainted of *Johnſon*'s ſafe Arrival with my Effects, and that my Pardon was ſealed but the Day before; ſo that *Johnſon*'s Foreſight came in Time, and I reaped that Benefit, for which few Men are thankful, the Bleſſing of having a Servant wiſer than myſelf. All Obſtacles being now removed, I ſet out from *Paris* with the Secretary of M. *Courtin* the *French* Ambaſſador for *Calais*, and the Day after we arrived there, croſſed to *Dover* by Noon, and the next Day being *May* the 9th 1676 arrived in *London*, where I found all my Friends at Mr. *Fetherſtone*'s Lodgings in *Aldermanbury*, having been ſixteen Years out of the Kingdom, and returning now almoſt as great a Stranger to it as if I had not been born therein.

FINIS.

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